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Archæologia Cantiana:

BEING

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

SERIAL

VOLUME XII.

1878

Gen R 942.23 A669 v.12

London:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY

BY

MITCHELL & HUGHES, WARDOUR STREET, OXFORD STREET.

1878.

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Rules of the Kent Archæological Society.

1. The Society shall consist of Ordinary Members and Honorary Members.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council consisting of the President of the Society, the Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary, and twenty-four Members elected out of the general body of the Subscribers: one-fourth of the latter shall go out annually in rotation, but shall nevertheless be re-eligible; and such retiring and the new election shall take place at the Annual General Meeting: but any intermediate vacancy, by death or retirement, among the elected Council, shall be filled up either at the General Meeting or at the next Council Meeting, whichever shall first happen. Five Members of the Council to constitute a quorum.

3. The Council shall meet to transact the business of the Society on the second Thursday in the months of March, June, September, and December, and at any other time that the Secretary may deem it expedient to call them together. The June Meeting shall always be held in London; those of March, September, and December at Canterbury and Maidstone alternately. But the Council shall have power, if it shall deem it advisable, at the instance of the President, to hold its meetings at other places within the county; and to alter the days of Meeting, or to omit a quarterly meeting if it shall be found convenient.

4. At every Meeting of the Society or Council, the President, or, in his absence, the Chairman, shall have a casting vote, independently of his vote as a member.

5. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held annually, in July, August, or September, at some place rendered interesting by its antiquities or historical associations, in the eastern and western divisions of the county alternately, unless the Council, for some cause to be by them assigned, agree to vary this arrangement; the day and place of meeting to be appointed by the Council, who shall have the power, at the instance of the President, to elect some member of the Society connected with the district in which the meeting shall be held, to act as Chairman of such Meeting. At the said General Meeting, antiquities shall be exhibited, and papers read on subjects of archæological interest. The accounts of the Society, having been previously allowed by the Auditors, shall be presented; the Council, through the Secretary, shall make a Report on the state of the Society; and the Auditors and the six new Members of the Council for the ensuing year shall be elected.

6. The Annual General Meeting shall have power to make such alterations in the Rules as the majority of Members present may approve: provided that notice of any contemplated alterations be given, in writing, to the Honorary Secretary, before June the 1st in the then current year, to be laid by him before the Council at their next Meeting; provided, also, that the said contemplated alterations be specifically set out in the notices summoning the Meeting, at least one month before the day appointed for it.

7. A Special General Meeting may be summoned, on the written requisition of seven Members, or of the President, or two Vice-Presidents, which must specify the subject intended to be brought forward at such Meeting; and such subject alone can then be considered.

8. Candidates for admission must be proposed by one member of the Society, and seconded by another, and be balloted for, if required, at any Meeting of the Council, or at a General Meeting, one black ball in five to exclude.

9. Each Ordinary Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings, due in advance on the 1st of January in each year; or £5 may at any time be paid in lieu of future subscriptions, as a composition for life. Any Ordinary Member shall pay, on election, an entrance fee of Ten Shillings, in addition to his Subscription, whether Annual or Life. Every Member shall be entitled to a copy of the Society's Publications; but none will be issued to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear. The Council may remove from the List of Subscribers the name of any Member whose Subscription is two years in arrear, if it be certified to them that a written application for payment has been made by one of the Secretaries, and not attended to within a month from the time of application.

10. All Subscriptions and Donations are to be paid to the Bankers of the Society, or to one of the Secretaries.

11. All Life Compositions shall be vested in Government Securities, in the names of four Trustees, to be elected by the Council. The interest only of such funds to be used for the ordinary purposes of the Society.

12. No cheque shall be drawn except by order of the Council, and every cheque shall be signed by two Members of the Council and the Honorary Secretary.

13. The President and Secretary, on any vacancy, shall be elected by a General Meeting of the Subscribers.

14. Members of either House of Parliament, who are landed proprietors of the county or residents therein, shall, on becoming Members of the Society, be placed on the list of Vice-Presidents, and with them such other persons as the Society may elect to that office.

15. The Council shall have power to elect, without ballot, on the nomination of two Members, any lady who may be desirous of becoming a Member of the Society.

16. The Council shall have power to appoint as Honorary Members any person likely to promote the interests of the Society. Such Honorary Member not to pay any subscription, and not to have the right of voting at any Meetings of the Society; but to have all the other privileges of Members.

17. The Council shall have power to appoint any Member Honorary Local Secretary for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest, and for the receipt of subscriptions.

18. Meetings for the purpose of reading papers, the exhibition of antiquities, or the discussion of subjects connected therewith, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

19. The Society shall avoid all subjects of religious or political controversy.

20. The Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society, to be communicated to the Members at the General Meetings.

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			370 17 0
			£682 5 2

1877.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Paid on Account of *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XI.:—		
	Printing—Mitchell and Hughes	317 18 6	
	Illustrations—T. Kell	106 6 0	
	" Whiteman and Bass	18 0 0	
	" J. Sachs.....	2 10 0	
	Index.....	5 5 0	
			449 19 6
	Annual Meeting—Expenses in Thanet.....		20 1 6
	Curator at Maidstone—Three quarters' salary		22 10 0
	Petty Cash.....		13 8 4
	London Secretary's expenses		6 6 0
	Printer of Circulars, etc. (H. T. Tidy).....		8 8 0
	Book Binding (Assiter and Kelly).....		2 8 6
Dec. 31st.	Balance in hand at the Bankers:—		
	Wigans and Co.	89 11 5	
	Hammonds and Co.....	69 11 11	
			159 3 4
			£682 5 2

June 24, 1878.

Examined and approved,

RICHARD CHARLES HUSSEY.
EDWARD MOORE.

The Kent Archæological Society.

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, 1877-8.

THE COUNCIL met on Friday, the 23rd of March, 1877, at the Fountain Hotel in Canterbury, CHARLES POWELL, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. Dowker's Report of excavations at Joss Farm, near the North Foreland lighthouse, was read. He has uncovered the foundations of a huge wall, 40 feet long by 7½ feet wide, formed of rough flints, laid in hard mortar full of grit. Nothing further could be found.

In consequence of the death of Mr. Thomas Godfrey-Faussett it was unanimously resolved to offer to his widow the sincere condolence of the Council upon the lamented, early, death of her able and accomplished husband. The Council can never forget his kindly, helpful, and hospitable, intercourse with themselves, nor the services which he so ably rendered to the Society as its Honorary Secretary and Editor during a period of ten years, from 1863 to 1873.

Twelve new Members were elected.

ON the 26th of June, 1877, the Council met at the house of the noble President in Grosvenor Square; eight Members were present.

Final arrangements for the Annual Meeting were sanctioned.

Thanks were voted to—

Mr. Thomas Thurston (whose age and health compel him to resign) for his long and able services as Local Secretary at Ashford.

Also to Mr. James R. Scott, F.S.A., for presenting a woodcut (portrait of Sir Thomas Scott), for use in the Society's eleventh volume.

Also to Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., for his "*Remarks on Shakespeare.*"

Four new Members were elected.

The Annual Meeting was held in the Isle of Thanet on the 1st and 2nd days of August, 1877.

On Wednesday, August the 1st, the Preliminary Meeting for dispatch of business was held in the Assembly Rooms, High Street, Ramsgate, at eleven o'clock.

The Earl of Darnley presided, and around him were the following Members of the Council, Sir Walter Stirling, Archdeacon Harrison, Charles Powell, Esq., G. E. Hannam, Esq., Rev. R. P. Coates, Rev. Canon Jenkins, Rev. A. J. Pearman, and the Hon. Secretary, and about 110 other Members and friends of the Society.

Lord Darnley expressed his great regret that, through an attack of indisposition, the Earl Amherst had been advised by his physician to avoid the fatigue of attending the Annual Meeting.

The *Honorary Secretary* then read the Annual Report, as follows:—

Your Council have pleasure in reminding you that this is the Twentieth Annual Report of the Kent Archæological Society, and are glad to be able to congratulate its Members upon its past growth, its present vigour, and the prospect of its future stability and usefulness.

During the past twelve months 60 new Members have been elected, and 18 candidates await election at your hands to-day. The Council have been able to invest in Consols during 1876, the sum of £55 derived from Compositions for Life Membership.

The number of Members is 800. Of these 14 are Honorary Members; 100 are Life Members; and 686 are Annual Subscribers, from whose payments of 10s. per annum the income of the Society is mainly derived.

Some of the gentlemen who kindly act as Honorary Local Secretaries sent in, during 1876, a large amount of accumulated arrears of subscriptions, so that the Society received in that year the unusually large sum of £543 19s. 0d. The Council therefore felt justified in printing another large volume of *Archæologia Cantiana*, although the tenth volume had been issued in July 1876,

only twelve months ago. The eleventh volume, now passing through the binder's hands, is therefore as large and as costly as the last. It will be distributed to the Members in August and September.

It must, however, be clearly understood that both the large size, and the prompt issue of Volumes X and XI, are consequent upon the energetic collection of a large amount of arrears; and that the usual steady annual income of the Society will not admit of the issue of such large and costly volumes in the future.

The balances standing to the Society's credit in the bankers' books, on this day, amount, together, to £294, a sum which will be sufficient to defray what is still due for the printing and binding Volume XI. The illustrations of the volume have already been paid for. They cost £191 5s. 0d.

During the past twelve months the Council have voted two small sums of £3 and £5 for excavations. Those already made have been superintended by Mr. Dowker, who will narrate to us on the spot what he has done at Reculver, and who has written a note of what he found on Joss Farm, near the North Foreland Lighthouse. The other excavations, not yet commenced, will be made at Milton under the superintendence of Mr. George Payne, junior.

Your Council have likewise been glad to render assistance in another branch of Archæology. Sir Stephen Glynne devoted much time, during forty years, to visiting and making notes respecting a majority of the Churches of Kent. Upon his death, his notes came into the hands of his brother-in-law, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who has agreed with Mr. John Murray for their publication. Very concise, although very complete, these notes sadly needed illustrations to make them interesting, and supplementary footnotes to record recent changes by restoration. Archdeacon Harrison, one of your esteemed Vice-Presidents, kindly supplied the footnotes, and your Council agreed to lend to Mr. Murray such woodcuts as they possessed illustrative of Sir Stephen Glynne's notes. Your Honorary Secretary is now revising the sheets of the book as it passes through the press, and thus your Society is actively assisting in the publication of the most complete series of Architectural Notes, on the Churches of Kent, which has ever been placed within reach of the public.

You will share with the Council their deep regret at the early death of our accomplished Vice-President Mr. T. G. Godfrey-Faussett, who was for ten years our able Honorary Secretary. You will likewise regret to hear that failing health has constrained Mr. Thurston of Ashford to transfer to younger hands the active

duties which he has fulfilled ever since the Society was founded, as Local Secretary (Honorary) for the Ashford district.

In visiting the Isle of Thanet we meet with a very hearty welcome, and no pains have been spared by the gentlemen of this district to make our visit here both useful and agreeable.

The adoption of the Report was moved by the Vicar of Ramsgate (Mr. Elwyn), who gave a warm greeting of welcome to the Society. It was seconded by Sir Walter Stirling and carried.

On the motion of Archdeacon Harrison, seconded by Mr. Powell, Sir Walter Stirling and Sir Walter James were elected Vice-Presidents of the Society.

Rev. R. P. Coates moved, and Rev. A. J. Pearman seconded, the election of Robert Furley, Esq., as Member of Council, in the room of Mr. Burra, resigned. The other retiring Members of Council were re-elected.

Rev. Canon Jenkins moved, and Rev. J. H. Carr seconded, the election of Mr. R. C. Hussey and Canon Edward Moore as Auditors of the Society's accounts.

Mr. G. E. Hannam moved, and Rev. R. Elwyn seconded, the appointment of Mr. J. D. Norwood to be Hon. Local Secretary for the Ashford district.

Eighteen new members were elected.

With a vote of thanks to the Earl of Darnley for so kindly coming, at very short notice, to preside at the Annual Meeting, the business terminated, and the members proceeded upon the first day's excursion.

At St. Lawrence Church the Society was welcomed by the Rev. G. W. Sicklemore, Vicar, and by his churchwardens. Mr. J. P. Seddon, of Queen Ann's Gate, Westminster, the well-known architect, described various points of interest in the church, and was followed by the Hon. Secretary. For notes on this Church, see page 369. Proceeding towards Minster, a flag was seen to mark the site of an ancient oak, which had been called St. Augustine's Oak, in commemoration of his landing place.

At Minster Church the Rev. Canon Jenkins read a paper (printed on pp. 177-96) respecting the history of the Saxon nunnery here. Mr. J. P. Seddon and the Hon. Sec. described the architecture of the church (see the paper on Minster Church, at page 167 of this volume). The *Dean of Canterbury*, the head of the Chapter

which holds the position of lay rector of Minster, joined the company here, with his daughters.

Many members received kindly hospitality from Dr. Harris, of Minster.

Amid showers of rain, the Society was welcomed at Minster Court (called Minster Abbey) by Mr. Swinford and his son. The Hon. Secretary described the building (his notes are printed on page 344).

Proceeding to Nash Court, the Members, by kind permission of Mr. Petley, descended into the cruciform vault, hewn in the chalk. An inscribed stone in the garden records the closing, in 1782, of the entrance to this vault. The Hon. Secretary shewed that its plan was cruciform, and that string-courses appear at the springings of the vaulted roof.

At SALMESTON GRANGE the Society was welcomed by the tenants, Mr. and Mrs. George Potter, who had hospitably prepared tea for the members. Mr. Seddon described the Decorated architecture of the chapel (now a barn), and the Hon. Secretary illustrated the points of the early Perpendicular work in the "Hall" or Refectory. (Notes respecting Salmeston will be found on pages 360-365.)

At ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, MARGATE, the Rev. W. Benham (the Vicar) and Mr. J. P. Seddon described the architectural features of interest—the numerous brasses, the Early English work in the south aisle, the additions, both eastward and westward, by which it has become 150 feet long, and the tower at west end of north aisle.

DINNER was served at 5 o'clock in the Foresters' Hall at Margate, where about 140 sat down.

The EARL OF DARNLEY presided, having on his right and left Sir Walter Stirling, the Dean of Canterbury with three of his daughters, the Mayor of Margate, J. T. Friend, Esq., and Miss Maria Devaynes, Archdeacon Harrison, G. E. Hannam, Esq., with Mrs. Hannam and Miss Russell, Kenyon Wilkie, Esq., Rev. Wm. and Mrs. Benham, Rev. R. and Miss Elwyn, General and Mrs. Burton, etc., etc.

After dinner the Temporary Museum was visited, at the Waterworks Office, beneath the Church Institute in Hawley Square. At 8 o'clock the evening meeting was held in the same building. The chair was taken by G. E. Hannam, Esq., and the Rev. W. Benham gave an address respecting the Parochial Registers of St. John's, from which he read extracts. The Rev. E. H. MacLahlan read a paper respecting Monkton and the Monks of Christ Church

(printed in this volume at pages 273-282), and Canon Jenkins lectured on a Mediæval Pilgrimage from Laon into Kent (this paper will be found at pages 238-251).

On Thursday, August the 2nd, the Members and their friends assembled at Margate, about 150 in number, and drove to DANDELION. The ancient gatehouse towers, of brick and flint in alternate courses, are the only remaining portions of an early fifteenth-century mansion. Mr. Seddon and the Hon. Secretary described the points of interest.

At BIRCHINGTON CHURCH the Vicar, Rev. J. P. Alcock, jun., kindly welcomed the Members, and said a few words about his church. Mr. Seddon and the Rev. F. H. MacLachlan also made some observations. (This church is described in the present volume, p. 409.) The company then proceeded to ST. NICHOLAS AT WADE, where the Rev. Bennet Smith received them. In the unavoidable absence of Mr. Joseph Clarke, F.S.A., the architecture of this fine building was described by the Hon. Secretary. (Mr. Clarke's paper is printed on pages 19-26.)

Some members visited the old house of Mr. Dadds, who pointed out the date 1634 painted above the mantelpiece of the kitchen, and who kindly offered refreshments to those who entered his house.

Thence, passing the site of a Saxon cemetery at Sarre, the Members proceeded to Chislet Vicarage, where the Rev. Dr. Haslewood hospitably entertained them on his lawn. Proceeding to the church a paper, prepared by Mr. F. Slater and since printed in our volume (pp. 106-112), was read by Dr. Haslewood.

RECULVER CASTRUM and CHURCH were the last places visited. Papers read there by Mr. George Dowker, F.G.S., will be found printed at pages 1 and 252.

At Brooke Farm, which was passed *en route*, much interest was attracted by the gateway, of moulded bricks, which forms the only relic of a late Tudor house.

The Temporary Museum was of unusual interest. Amongst the numerous contents were—A List of Margate Pier Dues issued in the reign of Charles I, signed by the Duke of Buckingham; an old horn book; Coverdale's edition of the Bible (Rouen, 1586), all lent by the Vicar of Margate; an early edition of the Bible (authorised version), lent by Mr. D. Bentley; a black-letter copy of Foxe's Book of Martyrs, lent by Miss Devaynes; illuminated books and rare specimens of binding, lent by Mr. Hillier, Rev. J. H. Carr, and others; a large collection of old guide-books,

illustrated works, pictures, and maps relating to Thanet, lent by Mr. Kenyon Wilkie, Mr. Bubb, Mr. Kygndon, Mr. Mercer, etc.; a fine show of china, lent by Mr. Horace Cotton, Mr. W. J. Mercer, Mr. Hillier, etc.; valuable collections of coins, lent by Captain Hatfeild, Mr. Horace Cotton, Mr. Mercer, Mr. Bubb, Mr. Bentley, Mr. Hillier, etc.; a warming-pan, dated 1621, and inscribed "God save King Charles," was lent by Mr. Horace Cotton, who likewise lent a cup used by William III at Quex, pistols exquisitely inlaid with silver, much Roman pottery, and a large number of leaden counters or coins, supposed to be Roman, found at Quex, and many other objects of interest. Mr. Bubb, of Minster, lent the old church clock of Minster, the old parish account books, tokens issued in Thanet during the Commonwealth, old coins, an indulgence of Pope Gregory XVI, much Roman pottery and old china, and a variety of other interesting objects. Mr. Hillier lent much Roman pottery found at Ramsgate, a well-ornamented stone-polisher dated 1605 with initials A. C., and many other objects. Mr. R. Paramor lent an earthen vase, and a ball, found beneath old houses in High Street when those now inhabited by Messrs. Willett and Brown were built; pieces of coloured glass bearing crowned initials T. W. or W. T., found in the wall of the tower of St. John's Church; a piece of stone carved with Norman ornaments and two heads; Mr. Sibert Saunders sent a number of Roman vessels of earthenware which had been dredged up near Whitstaple; Mr. Bentley lent the old parish chest of St. John's Church; Mr. Jas. Dentry lent vases dug up at the back of Warrior Square; Dr. Richardson lent numerous books full of rare illustrations; many rubbings of monumental brasses were lent by Mr. W. J. Mercer and other friends; drawings and plans of Reculver and St. Nicholas, by Mr. G. Dowker and Mr. Joseph Clarke; etchings by Mr. Mercer; tapestry and needlework, lent by Mr. Swinford, and many other things—models, weapons, padlocks, etc., etc., formed a *tout ensemble* of extreme and varied interest.

Amongst those who attended the Meeting were the Earl of Darnley, Sir Walter Stirling, Sir Walter James and Mr. Godley, The Dean of Canterbury, Archdeacon Harrison, Canon Jenkins, Canon Colson, Rev. R. Elwyn, Rev. G. W. Sicklemore, Messrs. J. T. Friend, Kenyon Wilkie, G. E. Hannam, C. Powell, F. G. Peckham, Colonel Hartley, Capt. Hatfeild, Revs. R. P. Coates, W. Powell, W. Benham, A. J. Pearman, D. J. Drakeford, A. Whitehead, E. H. MacLachlan, Thos. Candy, R. Drake, A. Upton, W. A. Hill, W. S. Hill, E. M. Muriel, C. J. D'Oyley, Fras. Haslewood,

Dr. Haslewood, V. S. Vickers, J. F. Thorpe, A. T. Browne, J. B. Harrison, F. T. Scott, H. Collis, J. H. Carr, Gerrard Lewis, Dr. Nunneley, Dr. W. Farr, Dr. Tayler, Dr. Pittock, Messrs. Horace Cotton, Alex. Robinson, W. M. Bywater, W. C. Elers, G. Dowker, Chas. Dobson, J. N. Dudlow, Thos. Blake, W. J. Vian, J. H. Turner, G. B. Rosher, Thos. Bullard, Stuart Knill, J. Wheelwright, W. Tarbutt, C. O. Stephenson, W. Hicks, Chas. Bullard, Amos Cave, Jas. Reid, E. W. Brabrook, F. Brothers, Josiah Hall, J. E. Hall, W. Hughes, E. J. Wastall, Jesse Pullen, H. G. Vintem, Percy Sankey, R. Hovenden, Francis Jones, Horace Alexander, Wm. Brown, H. S. Stokes, John Shaw, J. D. Norwood, W. Fish, F. C. J. Spurrell, R. Bubb, A. Hudson, J. Weston, F. B. Kyngdon, W. J. Bartlett, W. J. Mercer, George Simmons, J. T. Hillier, Geo. Payne, jun., W. T. Graves, W. H. Rammell, Jas. Lake, Bradnack, Professor Rupert Jones, and a large number of ladies.

The Council met on September 7th, 1877, at the Society's rooms in Maidstone; the Earl Amherst presided. Seven members attended.

Captain Tylden Pattenson was elected a member of the Council.

Thanks were voted to those gentlemen who had so kindly promoted the success of the Annual Meeting, held last month in Thanet, viz., to the Earl of Darnley, for presiding; to G. E. Hannam, Esq., and F. B. Kyngdon, Esq., for indefatigable exertions extending over several months; to the Rev. W. Benham, Canon Jenkins, Rev. E. H. MacLachlan, Mr. John P. Seddon, and Mr. Geo. Dowker, for their lectures and for other kindly help; to the Rev. Dr. Haslewood, Dr. Harris, and Mr. Geo. Potter for very acceptable hospitality; to the Margate Waterworks Company for the loan of their rooms for a museum; to Mr. Swinford and Mr. Petley for admitting us to Minster Court and Nash Court; to Messrs. Bubb, Cotton, Hillier, Mercer, Richardson, Wilkie, Hatfeild, and others for loans to the museum; to Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell for superintending the carriages on the second day of meeting.

After long discussion, it was resolved that the next Annual Meeting shall be held at Bromley.

It was further resolved that it would be well to endeavour to hold in Romney Marsh the Annual Meeting for 1879, and to meet in Tenterden in 1880, unless unforeseen circumstances should render other places of meeting preferable in those years. Five new members were elected.

On January 15th, 1878, the Council met at Canterbury, in the house of Canon J. C. Robertson; Earl AMHERST presided. Eight members attended.

It was resolved that Mr. James Neale, F.S.A., should be employed to copy, for the Society, the mural paintings which decorate the apse of St. Gabriel's Chapel in the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, under the supervision of the Hon. Secretary, to whom was deputed the arrangement of all details, size, etc., etc., on the basis of Mr. Neale's written proposal, viz., that he should charge one guinea per diem for his labour, in addition to travelling expenses and cost of lodgings; the Chapter of the Cathedral supplying lights, scaffolding, and a man or boy to assist.

The copies, after they have been lithographed for *Archæologia Cantiana*, shall be deposited in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, to be there exhibited for ever.

Twenty-three new members were elected.

THE COUNCIL met on the 24th of April, 1878, in the Society's rooms at Maidstone; the Earl AMHERST presided. Five members attended.

The Report of the Local Committee for the Annual Meeting, to be held at Bromley, was received and adopted.

The Rev. Wm. Walter Skeat, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge, and J. Brigstocke Sheppard, Esq., who some years ago relinquished his profession, in order that he might devote himself to the arrangement and editing of the Manuscript Records (Ecclesiastical and Municipal) in Canterbury, were elected Honorary Members, under Rule XVI., as gentlemen likely to promote the objects of the Society.

Thanks were voted to J. H. Parker, Esq., C.B., for presenting to the Society five volumes of his work on the Archæology of Rome; and to A. J. Baker, Esq., for an Inventory, dated 1637, of the furniture and stock of Thomas Gurney, farmer, of Coldred.

Five new members were elected.

A letter was read from Mr. C. Knight Watson announcing that the Society of Antiquaries will unconditionally grant to our Society the sum of £20 towards the cost of Mr. Neale's copies of the paintings in Canterbury Crypt.

THE COUNCIL met on the 26th of June, 1878, at the house of the noble President, in Grosvenor Square. Eleven members attended.

The Earl Sydney was present, and kindly consented, at Lord Lord Amherst's request, to preside at the Annual Dinner, which was fixed for Wednesday, July 31st. The following programme of the Annual Meeting was discussed and finally settled.

At Bromley, on July 31st and August 1st, 1878, the Society's Annual Meeting is this year to be held. The proceedings will be as follows:

FIRST DAY.

At 10.45 a.m. on Wednesday the Business Meeting will be held (by kind permission) in the Board Room of the Bromley Local Board. The EARL AMHERST will preside.

At 11.15 it is proposed to start for Chislehurst, where, at the Station, late comers by the South-Eastern Railway can be taken up. Chislehurst Church will be visited at 11.45. By the kindly invitation of Earl Sydney, the members will then drive to Frognal, through Scadbury Park. Thence progress will be made to Eltham Palace, where Mr. G B. Wollaston has kindly consented to act as guide, and to favour us with the result of his researches, if circumstances connected with health permit him to do so. After returning to Bromley, the Church will be visited. Dinner will be served in the Drill Hall about 4.30, under the kindly supervision of Mr. Archibald Hamilton and Mr. S. P. Acton. The EARL SYDNEY will preside.

After dinner, a Meeting will be held in the temporary Museum arranged in an upper room attached to the Drill Hall. Mr. Flinders Petrie (*on Kentish Earthworks*), Mr. Norman, Mr. Spurrell, Dr. Beeby, Mr. Latter, and other gentlemen, are expected to read Papers.

SECOND DAY.

On Thursday, August 1st, carriages will leave Bromley Station (Chatham and Dover Rail) at 10.15 (calling at Drill Hall 10.20) and at 10.30. Others will be ready at the Chislehurst Station of the South-Eastern Railway at 10.15 for those who have bespoken them.

Herbert Broom, Esq., LL.D., having courteously consented to admit the Society to his house, called Orpington Priory, it will be visited under Dr. Broom's guidance. Orpington Church will then be inspected; after which progress will be made to Cudham Church. Thence, by the kindly invitation of Sir John and Lady Lubbock, the members will proceed to High Elms. Afterwards, by the courtesy of Robert Alexander, Esq., C.B., ancient Earthworks,

within his Park at Holwood, will be visited under the guidance of Mr. Roach Smith, who, if time permit, will likewise point out, at Keston, remains of Roman buildings formerly excavated by Messrs. Kempe, Crofton-Croker, and Corner. Wickham Court will next be visited, being kindly opened to the Society by Colonel Farnaby Lennard, who will describe the history of his interesting house. The last object to be inspected will be West Wickham Church, with its painted windows of the fifteenth century.

Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell, with his usual kindness, has consented to direct the carriage arrangements during both the days of meeting. The preliminary arrangements have been made by Mr. Archibald Hamilton and Mr. S. P. Acton.

The Museum will be superintended by Mr. Cecil Brent, Mr. Ilott, Dr. Beeby, and Mr. R. Latter. All objects of interest, lent for exhibition, should be sent to Mr. Cecil Brent, 37 Palace Grove, Bromley, Kent.

Thanks were voted to the Rev. Dr. Haslewood for presenting to the Society £11 1s. 0d. for the cost of lithographed plates illustrative of Chislet Church; also to J. P. Seddon, Esq., for presenting blocks for engravings of houses and gable ends in Thanet; also to James R. Scott, Esq., for an engraved block illustrative of a tomb in Birchington Church.

Eight new members were elected.

Four drawings were examined, which have been prepared by Mr. Neale, as a portion of the copies he is making from the decorative mural paintings in St. Gabriel's Chapel, in the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. Two of these drawings were coloured, and two were as yet uncoloured; others, not produced, are in progress, the original paintings having been traced for them, on tracing paper. Mr. Neale's charge for the work already done amounts to £48 11s., for which a cheque was given him. He states his belief that the further cost for completely finishing the work in colours will not exceed £32.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT.

Read at Bromley, July 31st, 1878.

In presenting the Twenty-first Annual Report, the Council believe that all Members will share their satisfaction with the retrospect, and, like them, rejoice to know that at present, and

nearly £50, but after his copiès are fully completed and paid for, the additional expense of lithographing them in colours for our Volume will be extremely costly. The Society of Antiquaries, and the Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, have both generously promised to contribute towards the cost of this great work, and the Council hope that other lovers of early art, who have the means, will kindly assist with special donations towards this expensive undertaking. They feel sure that friends of Mr. Lambert Larking will be glad thus to contribute towards the completion of a design which he had much at heart. When the Society has obtained lithographs of the decorations, Mr. Neale's full-size *fac simile* drawings will be deposited in the spacious library of the Cathedral at Canterbury, for perpetual exhibition upon its walls. That library, at all times easily accessible, is on two days in every week open freely to the public.

The discoveries in Kent reported to the Society during the past year include those of two Roman coffins of lead. One found beneath the highway at Crayford was again buried, but a rough sketch of it was previously made. The other was found at Chatham, where it is carefully preserved. A magnificent gold torques, or armilla of five coils, was found at Dover. A remarkable shaft, lined with brick, and of a depth of 140 feet, has been discovered at Eltham Park, where Mr. Jackson resides. At Folkestone, Colonel Lane Fox, excavating within the earthworks called Cæsar's Camp, came upon a deep shaft there. He is said to believe that the earthworks are Norman.

At Bromley, as everywhere in the county, the Society is receiving a hearty welcome, and many kind friends have united in their efforts to make our Annual Meeting interesting and useful.

Archæologia Cantiana.

Archæologia Cantiana.

THE ROMAN CASTRUM AT RECULVER.

BY GEORGE DOWKER, F.G.S.

REGULBIUM, the Roman name for Reculver, has been traced to British origin by Battely, who supposes it to be derived from *Rhag* and *Gwylfa*, which signify "former or first watch tower." The sea has made great advances here, and the hill on which the *castrum* stands must have formed the north-east promontory of Kent, at a time when the waters of the Wantsum, at its northern mouth called the Genlade, flowed between it and the Isle of Thanet. The cliffs between Reculver and Herne Bay have yielded a great number of flint weapons, many of which are preserved in the cabinets of Mr. Brent of Canterbury, and Mr. Slater of Chislet, and most of them have been referred to a very early period, the Palæolithic, though others of a more recent type have been found. It is therefore extremely probable that this place may have been occupied, as a port or watch place, before the advent of the Romans, when the county of Kent, or at least the eastern portion of it, was peopled by a race from Belgic Gaul, described by Cæsar and Dion Cassius. In Cæsar's campaign against the Veneti, a description of their coast fortresses is thus given:—"Most of

these petty fortresses on the coast of the Veneti were situated at the extremities of tongues of land, or promontories; at high tide they could not easily be reached by land, while at low tide the approach was inaccessible to ships: a double obstacle to a siege." Reculver would present all the features here described, and we know also that from Kent a commerce existed with the Continent: indeed Cæsar himself informs us that in his Belgic campaign his enemies received succour from Britain. It is not then at all unreasonable to suppose Reculver to have been a port and a coast defence before the Roman occupation.

There is no certain record that the walls of Regulbium were built at an early period of the Roman rule in Britain, though this commanding station at the north mouth of the estuary of the Wantsum was probably very early occupied by them. Its omission by Ptolemy and by the geographer of Ravenna, and its mention only in the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester and in the Notitia, has led many to infer that it was built at a late period, and that these walls (as well as those of the *castra* on the east of Kent) were erected to repel the invasions of the Saxons. It is, however, not my purpose to enter into a disquisition on this difficult subject, which has been ably treated by Mr. Roach Smith, who says:—"In the total absence of inscriptions, as well as of historical evidence, that can possibly be brought to bear directly upon the question, the precise period when the *castrum* of Regulbium was erected, as well as others on the Saxon shore, must remain a matter of conjecture." I incline to the belief that Richborough was erected earlier than Reculver. Within the walls of the former are found many more remains, attesting a prolonged

Roman occupation, than in the latter. A large excavation within the walls of Reculver, lately made in digging the foundations of coastguardmen's cottages, brought very little to light.

An attentive examination of the estuary of the Wantsum, which flowed from here to Richborough, leads me to believe that it was much shallower and narrower in Roman times than is generally supposed, and that it opened out widely northwards; nearly surrounding the *castrum* with water. The cliff at Bishopstone gradually dips as it approaches Reculver, the hill on which the *castrum* was built rising abruptly; but still it is so far above the level of the marsh that there is no reason to suppose the waters ever came up to the *castrum* walls, as some have suggested. Towards the south, an inlet in the marsh marks what had probably been water, at least at high tide. In a dike recently cut, just at the south of the *castrum*, I observed indications of a large accumulation of earth, covering Roman tiles and other remains to a considerable depth; such an inlet as I suppose probably formed a fleet or harbour. This inlet has at some distant period been walled off from the Genlade, shutting out the sea from this strip of marsh.

It is averred that the bounds of the port of Sandwich were Pepperness, a small sand in the eastern end of the Sandwich estuary, and *Meres fleet* by the north mouth, or Genlade.* It seems certain that some

* *A Short Dissertation on the Antiquities of the two ports of Richborough and Sandwich*, by John Lewis.

A.D. 949. In a charter of Eadred granting the monastery of Reculver to Christchurch, Canterbury, written by the Abbot Dunstan, in a description of the boundaries of the said lands mention is made of Eanflæde mouth to the north and from Eanflæde mouth to *Meareflætes mouth*.

fleet existed near here, and I am inclined to place it on this strip of marsh. The word *fleet* is of Saxon origin; it was used to designate a stream flowing into a river, and appears constantly to have been used for harbours and landing places in early times. In my account of Richborough, in Volume VIII of *Archæologia Cantiana*, I noticed an artificial excavation in the hill of Richborough, opposite a farm now called Fleet. The existence of these fleets in connection with the Roman *castra* in the south-east is instructive. Richborough, Lympne, and Pevensey, appear to have been situated close to the marsh and land overflowed by the tide.

The Wantsum connected the waters of the Greater and Lesser Stour, which were carried by it to Richborough, and thence to sea southward, and also by a branch which emptied out northward near St. Nicholas, Thanet. Another river rising in the Blean flowed out at Chislet, uniting its waters with those of the Wantsum by one channel, and by another it flowed out near Reculver, at the north mouth, called the Genlade. There are at present two streams emptying out northward, one called the North Mouth, and the other the Cold Harbour; between these streams the intervening marsh land is tolerably level, but several hills seem to mark the former division of the stream.

I must not, in connection with this subject, omit to mention the coast changes which have taken place. The waste of coast from Herne Bay to Reculver has been extremely rapid during some periods, and if the land had stood at any elevation above the sea level north of Reculver, we must conclude that the *castrum* was considerably removed from the sea; but we must bear in mind the gradual dip of the cliff as we near

Reculver from Herne Bay; if a slight elevation in the cliff did not occur just at Reculver, we should find it about the marsh level. It evidently stands on an isolated hill, overlooking the marsh; in this respect bearing a very close resemblance to the hill of Richborough. The marsh, east of the *Castrum*, probably opened out or widened seawards, hence Regulbium might still have been near the sea. The earliest notice of its distance from the sea is given by Leland, who states "it standith within a quarter of a mile or little more of the se syde." This was probably between 1530 and 1537. According to vulgar tradition, the town and monastery stood between the *castrum* and the "black rock," which is now far out at sea. This "black rock" is probably the seaward continuation of the sandstone, which occurs naturally in these cliffs, and which, following the strike of the beds, would crop out there. A peculiar ridge of rock runs out diagonally to sea near the Bishopstone station, and probably gives the name *stone* to that place, and is of like geological character. I should not place much reliance on the popular notion that this "black rock" has any connection with the ancient Reculver, as similar popular statements often rest on mere supposition: nor have we any reason to conclude that there was ever an extensive town here. The earliest reliable map of this neighbourhood represents the northern walls of the *castrum* as thirty-two rods from the sea. This map was made, I believe, about A.D. 1600. In 1780 Mr. Boys made the distance of the cliff, from the north-west angle of the Roman wall, three rods.

The Roman Castrum.—We have several accounts of this building, as it has appeared of late years, the most accurate and reliable of which is that given by

Mr. Boys,* who made a careful survey of the wal
He says, "The castle when entire occupied eight ac
one rood and one perch of ground, and the area witl
the walls seven acres two roods twenty-six perche
He also gives a plan of them, from which it appe
they formed nearly a square parallelogram, havi
apparently but one opening, and that in the centre
the west wall, opposite the west entrance to t
church. The south-east angle of the wall is rep
sented as rounded, and concealed by the soil. A bre
in the wall is shewn at the north-east corner, probal
a cart-way cut in the wall; the corners are all rep
sented as rounded. At the time Mr. Boys made l
survey the foundations of the walls were entire, exce
a portion cut off by the cliff at the north-west corn
He represents likewise the ground-plan of the bui
ings within the area of the walls. These plans appe
to have been made about A.D. 1798. He notices tl
the walls skirt a hill, of pit sand, which is higher
every part than the ground without the walls; tl
the walls are nowhere more than ten feet high, a
never rise above the level of the ground within t
castrum. He speculates on the walls having be
thrown down, and the fragments carried away by t
sea, which he supposed washed its southern as w
as northern sides; and he noticed the absence
bonding tiles in the walls, which form such a co
spicuous feature in the Roman walls at Richboroug
A description has also been given of the *castrum*
Mr. Freeman, in a book entitled *Regulbium*, a poe
He says:—

"In the year 1780, when a survey of Reculver was published
the *Bibliotheca Topographica*, by the late Mr. Boys, of Sandwi

* *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, No. xviii, p. 84, pl. iv

the north wall of the *castrum*, which was distant about eighty yards from the church, had lately been overthrown by a fall of the cliff, and the angle of the tower towards the north, as appears by the annexed plan, was distant about fifty yards from the border of the precipice. In the year 1805, when the writer first examined it, the churchyard was entire, surrounded by its walls: and between the wall and the cliff was a highway broad enough to admit carriages; since that time some remarkable high tides and violent gales of wind have happened, by which means so much cliff has been overthrown that at the present moment, June, 1809, the distance from the north angle of the tower to the edge of the cliff is reduced to five yards only."*

Mr. Freeman likewise notices the walls of the *castrum* pretty much as described by Mr. Boys; but he adds that the foundations were at places exposed by the removal of earth. He measured the fragments of the wall lying on the beach, and found them to be nine feet thick, from which he conjectured the walls with their original facings could not have been less than eleven or twelve feet thick, as at Richborough. He further notes, "From the present state of the wall none of the original gates or entrances are distinguishable."

Mr. Roach Smith, in his history of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne, notices the previous accounts given of these walls, but his description is chiefly taken up with historical data, though he had minutely examined the walls, and commented on the absence of bonding tiles.

It appeared to me desirable to make a minute examination of the *castrum* walls, in order that I might, if possible, throw some light on their plan and original structure. For this purpose, I first made a minute examination of the outer walls, to determine if

* *Regulbium*, a Poem by R. Freeman. 1810.

possible how they had been built; what was the material used; what openings or gates existed; whether the hill within, faced by the walls, was natural or artificial; and whether the walls were surrounded by a fosse, or other protection. I caused an excavation to be made near the centre of the existing east wall, on its inner side. I found the earth was almost entirely maiden soil, of a clayey sand, except about a foot from the top, and that immediately in contact with the wall. The inner face of the wall was quite perfect. Its upper portion consisted of alternate layers of flint and rough blocks of sandstone, the top layer being flint, and this was quite level; at three feet below the surface there was a set-off one foot wide; the wall, thence formed mainly of flints, continued perpendicularly four feet, with only one layer of sandstone; at that depth there is another set-off, about one foot wide, resting on a surface of black pebbles, on which as a foundation all the wall appears to be built. These pebbles are beach pebbles, and the same have been used beneath the walls of Richborough. The total depth of the wall was 8 feet. I determined the width of the original wall, by measuring from the inner face to a plummet line which cut the outer face of the wall, in a line with the perfect facing stones, some of which we meet with on the east side; this measured 8 feet in width. Thus we get the dimensions of the walls, viz., 8 feet deep, 8 feet wide at the top, then 3 feet lower down 9 feet wide, lastly with an extra foot projecting inwards at the bottom. As before stated, the walls on the outside are bare to the very foundations, having been used as a quarry; almost all the squared ashlar facing stones, and some portion of the core of the walls, have been carried away for

The North Sea

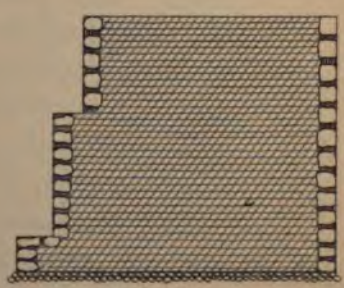
The Rece to ye sea shore called iii Acres

CASTRUM

Ancient Hall

ULVER CASTRUM AND CHURCH, AS SHEWN ON A PLAN OF BROOK FARM, AND OTHER LANDS OF Mr E MASTER OF OSPRINGE,— DRAWN BY JAMES CASTELL ABOUT A.D. 1600.

INNER (WESTERN) FACE OF EAST WALL.



SECTION OF WALL.

Scale of Feet.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

EAST WALL OF ROMAN CASTRUM AT RECULVER 1877.

use elsewhere. It is probable that the Romans chose a hill for their camp, scarped it, and then built a wall against it, to keep up the crumbling sand of which it was composed. The foundation pebbles appear to go quite through the wall and into the soil within. I conclude therefore that the walls were laid in foundations dug into the soil, on the verge of the hill, but that the earth so dug out had all been cast up to remain within the wall. We must not conclude, however, that the camp quite coincided with the dimensions of any natural hill; it is square, and the hill falls more towards the east than towards the west. Mr. Boys states, in explanation of his plan, that "parts shaded lightly, are either wholly destroyed or concealed from view by the soil." The south-east angle is thus represented, so that there must here have been soil resting against the outside of the wall, or some tower or other defence occupied the angle. We cannot imagine that a wall, 8 feet only in height, could have been any sufficient protection to such a camp as the Romans possessed here: yet so regular and uniform is this height throughout the entire circuit of walls, that we can hardly accept it as accidental. The uniform absence, also, of any overthrown material points to the conclusion that some other defence existed. It appears then very probable that a fosse once existed entirely surrounding the walls, and that the mound cast up against the walls, in forming it, has long since been removed by accident or design. In confirmation of this view, I would point out that the earliest map we have of this neighbourhood (I refer to that in Mr. Collard's possession) shews, on two sides of the *castrum*, a narrow slip of land which had different owners from the adjoining land. Such an old

fosse and embankment as I imagine would probably long continue to be waste land, and would be recovered from the waste, as such slips often are, by small proprietors. Mr. Collard informs me that his father did once remove some of the soil, adjacent to the walls, to place in his garden, it being rich, good soil, better than most of that about.

On examining the masonry of the walls, I found it was largely composed of material from the neighbourhood; the sandstone being identical with that occurring in the cliffs about here. I also found travertine, frequently termed *tufa*, sparingly used as a facing material for the wall.

On carefully noticing the wall on the south side of the *castrum* I observed that it was absent, for some space, at a point much overgrown with trees, and on pacing the distance from the south-east corner, I found it corresponded with the centre of this side of the *castrum*, according to the measurements on Mr. Boys's plan. On comparing the last Ordnance Survey, on the large scale, with my plan of the *castrum*, I found that the southern wall is not straight; from both extremities it converges inward towards this central point, thus indicating the probable position of a postern gate. This convergence in the south wall resembles that of the north wall at Richborough, which, towards the Decuman gate, also tends inward. The sentinels on duty could thus more readily perceive the approach of an enemy from either side of the gateway. Further excavations at the spot I thus indicate might perhaps shew us a gateway.

Other points I investigated were the presumed openings in the walls. Of these, the opening now used as a pathway to the coastguard station from the

east appears to be but a way cut down through the wall. On the opposite side, towards the south-west, the wall, in a fragmentary state, may still be seen under the cow-houses belonging to the "Ethelbert Arms Inn," but it cannot be traced further.

I find that the church is situated half way between the east and west walls of the *castrum*. It thus stands where we might presume the prætorium to be situated. The east wall faces 35° N.W. of N. and S.

With regard to the historical part of the subject, Mr. Roach Smith has brought all the facts to a focus in his able work on Reculver.* We learn from the Notitia, or at least from that part of it relating to Britain, that Regulbium was garrisoned by the first cohort of the Vetasii under the command of a tribune. These Vetasii or Betasii (for their name is variously spelt) were a people of Belgic Gaul, now called Brabant. They are mentioned in two rescripts of Trajan and Hadrian, by which it appears that in the reigns of these emperors, among numerous auxiliary soldiers these were serving in Britain. Mr. Roach Smith has favoured me with the following letter, which I give in its entirety, although he mentions my researches in too flattering terms:—

"My dear Sir,—To what I published respecting Reculver many years ago, I have not much to add, beyond congratulating the Society on possessing a member so active and so competent in the field of practical research.

"By means of excavations you have shewn the internal construction of the east wall of the *castrum;* and revealed more clearly the character of the site, and the natural elevation within the walls."

"As you suggest, a further excavation on the southern side would probably expose a postern entrance, somewhat similar to that at

* *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver and Lymne*, sm. 4to. London, 1850.

Richborough. You have also demonstrated, I think beyond doubt, the Roman origin of the church, which from Gandy's drawings seemed obvious; but which was not heretofore to be so clearly decided by visible remains.

"Unfortunately here, as in all of the *castra* on the *Littus Saxonicum*, we are not assisted by lapidary inscriptions; the source of so much valuable historical information in the fortresses of the north of Britain. With the exception of the inscribed tiles, found at Dover and Lymne, recording the British Classiarii stationed at those ports; and an altar, erected at the latter place by a prefect of the British fleet, our only historical evidence on the defences of the Saxon shore is confined to the *Notitia Imperii*, compiled in the state in which we have it at a very late period, not earlier than the days of Arcadius and Honorius. This fact is to a certain extent evidence of the comparatively late date of these military defences.

"I need not trouble you with what I have published on the Betasii (Vetasii, as written in the *Notitia*) quartered at Regulbium. In addition to the inscription found at Ellenborough, or Maryport, three others have recently been discovered. The first gives the *prenomina* T. Attius to Tutor the Prefect in a dedication to Victory. The second is also to Victory by the first cohort of the Betasii, styled as in the former, 'C. R.,' *Cives Romani*, under the prefect, Ulpius Titianus; and the third is dedicated by the same cohort and prefect to Mars Militaris, the deity to whom the altar long since discovered was erected. These three altars were discovered with fourteen others buried with their faces downwards, on the outside of the station in a series of pits, indicating the abandonment of the *castrum* possibly when the garrison was called to the south.

"Strood, July 29, 1877."

Though we cannot with any certainty decide who were the builders of this *castrum*, the balance of testimony seems to favour its being of late date in the Roman occupation of Britain, though we need not hence infer that Regulbium had not previously been a Roman port, which may have been mentioned with Richborough under the name of Rutupiæ.

Battely explored this *castrum*, and described

many of the relics of Roman manufacture found here. It would appear that most of his specimens were derived from pits, ten to twelve feet square, and the same in depth; formed by posts driven deep into the ground, their sides being closed with oaken planks two inches thick, and the bottom of each being formed of the stiffest clay, well trodden down to prevent percolation of water. These, Battely supposed, were reservoirs for rain water, which the brackish nature of the spring water in the neighbourhood rendered necessary. These pits were found when the sea undermined the cliff, and as in 1780 the *castrum* was nearly entire, they must have been without the walls. I think it probable they were dirt pits like those found at Richborough.

ROMAN REMAINS FOUND AT RAMSGATE.

BY ROBERT HICKS, M.R.C.S.

WHEN Thanet was completely isolated, the sea flowed in at Reculver, covering the marshes between that place and Birchington, and running in the course of the Stour found an exit into Pegwell Bay, near Richborough. The channel which thus separated Thanet from the mainland was broad, shallow, but navigable, and it became the high road for all vessels during many centuries. Entering at the port of Richborough they found their way into the North Sea at Reculver, avoiding the dangerous navigation around the North Foreland.

At each mouth of this channel were early built the two important fortresses of Rutupium (Richborough) and Regulbium (Reculver), and no doubt very considerable garrisons were stationed at each. Neither of these forts was situated at any considerable altitude. The cliffs, however, at Ramsgate, and beyond Broadstairs, are very high, and afford perfect facility for keeping a good look-out into the open sea, exactly in that direction from which danger was most to be apprehended.

If you stand on the West Cliff in Ramsgate, at the end of what is now called St. Mildred's Road, and where many Roman remains have been discovered,

you will easily perceive the walls of Richborough Castle; it is indeed within signalling distance, especially by the aid of beacons, from which the Isle of Thanet takes its name, some say; *Tene* meaning a fire or beacon. If, on the other hand, you stand on the East Cliff at Ramsgate, above the Granville Hotel, you will have a fine view into the North Sea. Near this spot, under the Granville itself, and also close by in the garden of the house now called Conyngham Lodge, Roman remains have been unearthed. To those dug up in the last-mentioned place I must call especial attention. Two graves were disturbed, each containing the remains of a skeleton, and a vase of Upchurch ware with each. Among these bones are two portions of the upper jaw belonging to one of the persons interred, and in it canine teeth are uncut, and still remain in the jaw; there are also several milk teeth in good preservation but loose. The other skeleton was about the same age, but none of the bones were preserved. Here is absolute proof that *children* were buried here, which tends to shew that this was no hurried encampment, but a place of more permanent occupation, as children point to the presence of women, and women and children would not be found in temporary camps.

I believe all the more prominent headlands along the coast had permanent posts of observation, until you reach the lower cliffs of Birchington, when you are again within signalling distance of Reculver.

And now for the necessity of such organized posts. The forefathers of this our English nation were adventurous, daring, and warlike. Finding their own lands overstocked, and Britain much more tempting, they sailed from Denmark, Jutlar

England (which we now call Schleswick), and the low districts of Holstein, never neglecting an opportunity for landing, always to pillage, it might be to conquer. The Romans, a nation pre-eminently skilled in military matters, took care to guard any place likely to be attacked or surprised. Hence the necessity for these posts of observation. History shews that when the fortresses were left to moulder, and the organized look-out was neglected, then the blow, so long warded, fell with such violence and ferocity that very few of the aboriginal inhabitants survived to tell the tale.

I will now describe in more detail, and as shortly as I can, the different finds, only remarking that it seems always necessary to build a house in order to discover them; for whenever we have made an attempt by trenching, in a likely spot, we always draw the covers blank.

On the West Cliff.

A.—*At Mr. Southee's West Cliff School.*

1. A large vase of pale brown ware (9).
2. Cinerary urns (6) (14) of pale brown ware; one with burnt bones and one with bronze fibula (10).
3. Urns of coarser make.
4. A coarse clay patera (26), and a small one (20).
5. An imitation Samian ware plate (18), and two bronze fibulæ.

Close to this find was a hole containing bushels of bones, principally of pigs and boars, but some of deer. This seems to have been one of the "dust holes" of the camp.

B.—*At Mr Johnston's*, close to the former.

A Samian patera (19).

Two bottles of brown ware (15) (16).

Mr. Southee's and Mr. Johnston's houses are both situated in St. Mildred's Road.

C.—*A little further off on the West Cliff.*

One small bottle of light brown ware (7).

One Samian ware patera, with a raised pattern (17), and a fibula (17*a*).

D.—*On West Cliff, under what is now No. 77 Cambridge Terrace.*

A bottle of brown ware (3).

A Samian patera of very fine ware (4).

A glass Lachrymatory in perfect preservation (5).

Several very large nails, as if from a coffin, and the bones of a man, of which the first and second cervical vertebræ were quite perfect and intact; with them were found several teeth of a horse, leading to the supposition that a horse's head, at least, had been buried with the man. All these remains were found within a radius of two hundred yards.

ON THE EAST CLIFF.

E.—*In the garden of the house now called Conyngham Lodge*, were found two Upchurch vases (1) and (2), and skeletons of children. I have good reasons for knowing that more interments exist in the garden, which have not been disturbed—perhaps some day the Marquis Conyngham will kindly give us permission to dig.

F.—*In the road beyond the Granville farm.*

A black vase (11) with skeletons.

A brown vase (12) with skeleton.

G.—*Under the Granville Hotel* several vases were found.

HIGH STREET, RAMSGATE.

H.—*Near the top of the Street*, a fragment of an earthen vessel (21), the bottom of which was perforated with three round holes. The fragments (22) (23) (24) were found with it.

I hope that further house building will lead to more discoveries.

The large *amphora* (25) placed in the centre of the top line on the plate was discovered in the parish of St. Peter's. Of the Celtic remains shewn in the

plate, those found in Ramsgate are two polished stor celts (27) (28), and a beautiful flint knife (29), di: covered together on West Cliff; they appear at tl right hand lower corner of the plate. The bron: celt (30) was dug up on the site of the South-Easter Railway Station at Minster.

The burnt bones, found in the urn numbered (6 on the plate, are shewn, in a modern glass vesse between that urn and figure (3).

R. HICKS.

August, 1877.

Joseph Clarke F.S.A. del.

Thos. Kell, Lithographer, 40 King St. Covent Garden

CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS AT WADE IN THANET — SOUTH SIDE OF THE NAVE, VIEWED FROM THE NORTH WEST.

THE CHURCH OF SAINT NICHOLAS AT WADE.

BY JOSEPH CLARKE, F.S.A.

THE churches in and near Thanet have all more or less a distinctive character. Norman work predominates, with much Early English work intermixed, though generally later aisles, windows, and other features have been inserted. The chapels and chancel aisles are generally Early English; this is found at Minster; in the ruins of the old church at Reculver; in the churches of St. Peter, St. Clement, and St. Mary at Sandwich, and in many other parishes. From time to time most interesting details are being discovered, and, when opportunity offers, the original plan of these churches may be traced out. St. Nicholas at Wade presents all these distinctive features, and contains some exceedingly interesting remains blending most curiously the Norman and Early English styles together.

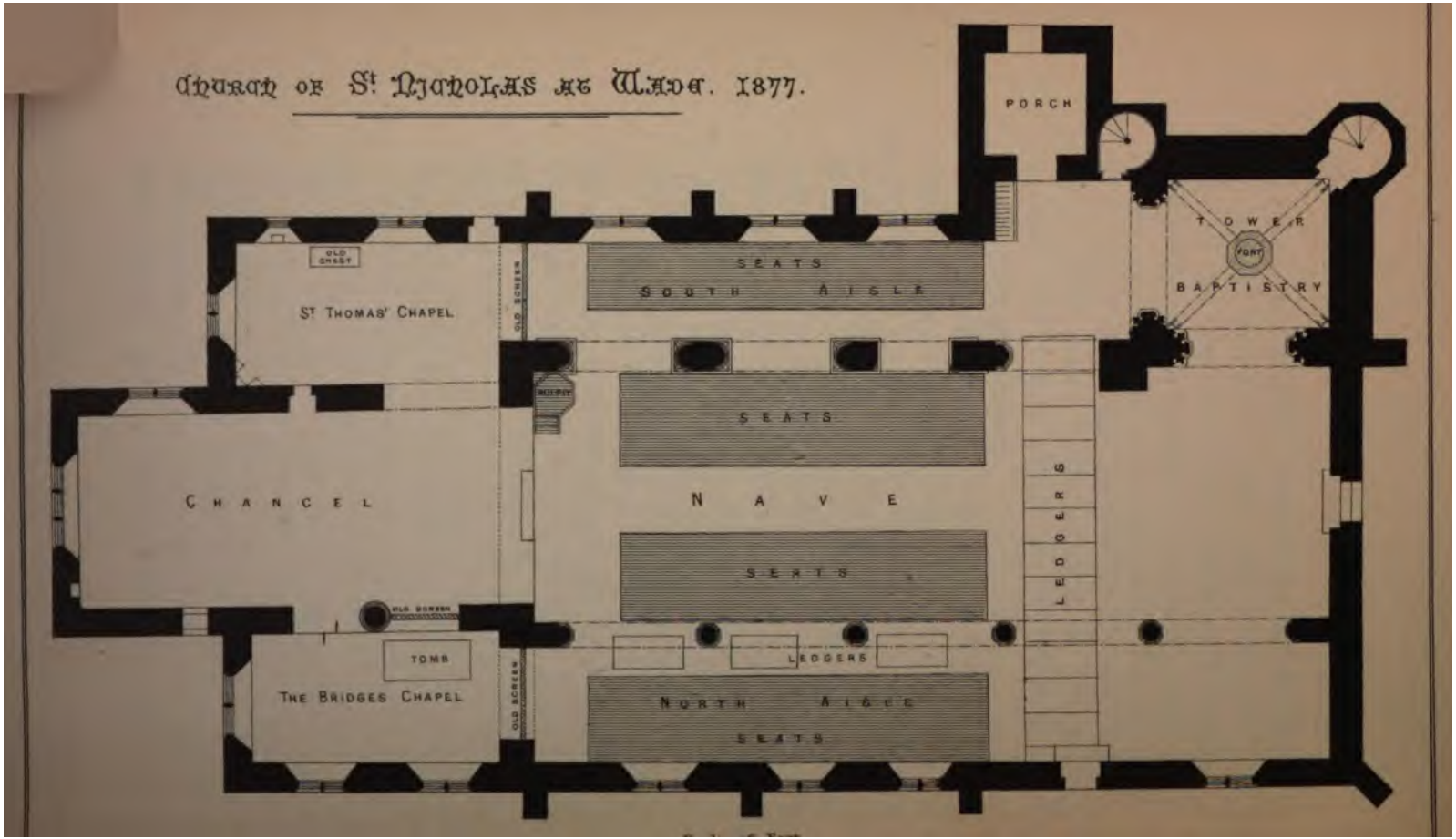
It is said by Hasted that the name of the parish is derived from its situation "Ad Vadum," *i.e.* Wading Place, or ford across the river Wantsum, at or near the site of the existing bridge at Sarre. The parish lies at the N.E. corner of the Isle of Thanet, and contained over 600 inhabitants at the last census.

The church is built on rising ground, and its fine tower is a conspicuous mark for many miles

over the Isle of Thanet. The village, which surrounds the church, contains several good houses that have been in the families of the Gilmores, Palmers, and Bridges (inheriting through the Paramors), and others, for generations. There is a foundation School at the N.W. end of the village, founded by Thomas Paramor, who, in 1636, gave a house and land for the purpose, together with a rent charge of £6, which has since been further augmented.

Saint Nicholas was formerly a Chapel of the church of Reculver, and formed part of the ancient possessions of the see of Canterbury, until Archbishop Winchelsea, on account of the distance of this and the Chapelries of Herne and Hoath, about A.D. 1298, made Saint Nicholas parochial, and united to it the adjoining parishes of All Saints and Sarre. The latter church afterwards became desecrated, and it had disappeared in Leland's time, but it is seen in an ancient map belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge.

Archbishop Winchelsea, in A.D. 1310, endowed Saint Nicholas, with the consent of the Rector of the church at Reculver; but he required the parish to pay, in token of subjection, an annual pension of four marks to Reculver, and that the vicars with the priests, ministers and parishioners of the chapelries of Saint Nicholas, Hoath, and Herne, should go to Reculver Church once every year, in manner as described, and should be subject to the repairs of that mother church. This liability to repair was contested before Archbishop Stratford, who, after due inquiry into all causes, and having audience of the parties, made a decree, A.D. 1335, in favour of Reculver. Contests still remained till by a decree of Archbishop Warham, *temp.* Henry VIII, it was settled by consent of all


Church of St. Nicholas at Wade. 1877.
PORCH
TOWER
FONT
BAPTISTRY
OLD CHEST
St Thomas' Chapel
OLD SCREEN
SEATS
SOUTH AISLE
SEATS
CHANCEL
NAVE
SEATS
LEDGERS
OLD SCREEN
TOMB
The Bridges Chapel
OLD SCREEN
LEDGERS
NORTH AISLE
SEATS

parties, that the several parishes interested should redeem the burden of such liability for repairs, by a moderate annual stipend or pension in money payable at a certain day; with the proviso that if default was made the full liability as before should remain. A present payment of 3s. 4d. to Reculver was still required from each parish. An endowment for the repair of the church of St. Nicholas was made by Robert Marshall, who by his will, proved A.D. 1482, ordered himself to be buried in the church, and devised the annual rents of twenty-nine acres of arable land, and fifteen acres of marsh land, in the parish of St. Giles, to be laid out yearly on the reparations of the church of St. Nicholas for ever: or else the said land was to be sold, and the purchase-money to remain to the reparations, at the discretion of the churchwardens for the time being, on condition that they and the vicars and parishioners should grant a release of all claim and demand in an annuity of 15½d. yearly due to this church out of a tenement "Bynez" and the garden belonging thereto in the said parish, so that the same be extinct for ever.

The church has a good chancel, 41 feet 6 in. by 18 feet. The North, now called the Bridges, Chapel, opens into the chancel by two arches. The South, or St. Thomas à Becket, Chapel opens by a single arch into the chancel. The nave is of five bays, and is 73 feet long by 23 feet wide; its north aisle 10 feet 6 in. wide, and its south aisle 9 feet 3 inches wide. At the west end of the south aisle is a grand tower, opening into the church, which was formerly groined. Incorporated with the tower is a south porch. The church was originally Norman, and probably extended westward to the present narrow arch, and Perpendicular

pier, of the south arcade next the tower. The aisles appear to occupy the former Norman plan, the south arcade being retained. The Norman chancel seems to have extended eastward to about the line of the present chapels; one Norman pier with the cap and base is seen on the north side. There was probably a Norman tower at the west end, as at Minster, and at St. Mary's, Sandwich.

The remains of the Early English work are clear and distinct, and much of the Norman work was no doubt pulled down in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to make way for the enlargement of the church.

The walls of the chancel, which was restored by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1875, are no doubt Early English; an Early English arch remains on the south side, but all the original windows have been cut out and later insertions made, and the original floor-levels have been altered. On the north side of the chancel is a doorway, which opened externally, but is now closed, and led no doubt into a later sacristy, the remains being apparent on the outside. The arches and responds of the north chapel are Early English, with splayed angles, one side terminating with an elegant carved stop. The central pier, from which the Early English work springs, is Norman, and has the original base and cushion cap. This, though *in situ*, may have been renewed or rebuilt. The chancel arch is Early English, and very much like the original chancel arch of St. Peter's, in Thanet.

The north chapel is Early English, with an arch opening into the north aisle similar to those into the chancel; but all the original windows have been re-

moved, the openings are enlarged, and later windows inserted. The floor of this chapel is now twelve inches below the chancel, and seems to be the original level. A splayed recess for an altar exists under the east window, carried down to the ground; but repairs and alterations of late years have obliterated all remains of the ancient arrangement. The north pier of the arch into the aisle is partly built of tufa, but this seems the only place where that material was used. This chapel is attached to the manor of Frosts, and is now held by the Bridges, who bear for arms, *or* on a cross *sa.* a leopard's head. The manor and estates of Frosts came from the Paramors to the Bridges by marriage. John Bridges, who lies buried in the "Middle Isle" of the church, held it in 1667. There is a modern mural slab on the north wall copied from a former stone to Thomas Paramor, who had four wives. He died 19 October, 1595. In the floor of this chapel is a brass to Valentine Edvarod and his two wives, Agnes and Joan. He died 1559, and the following inscription occurs:—

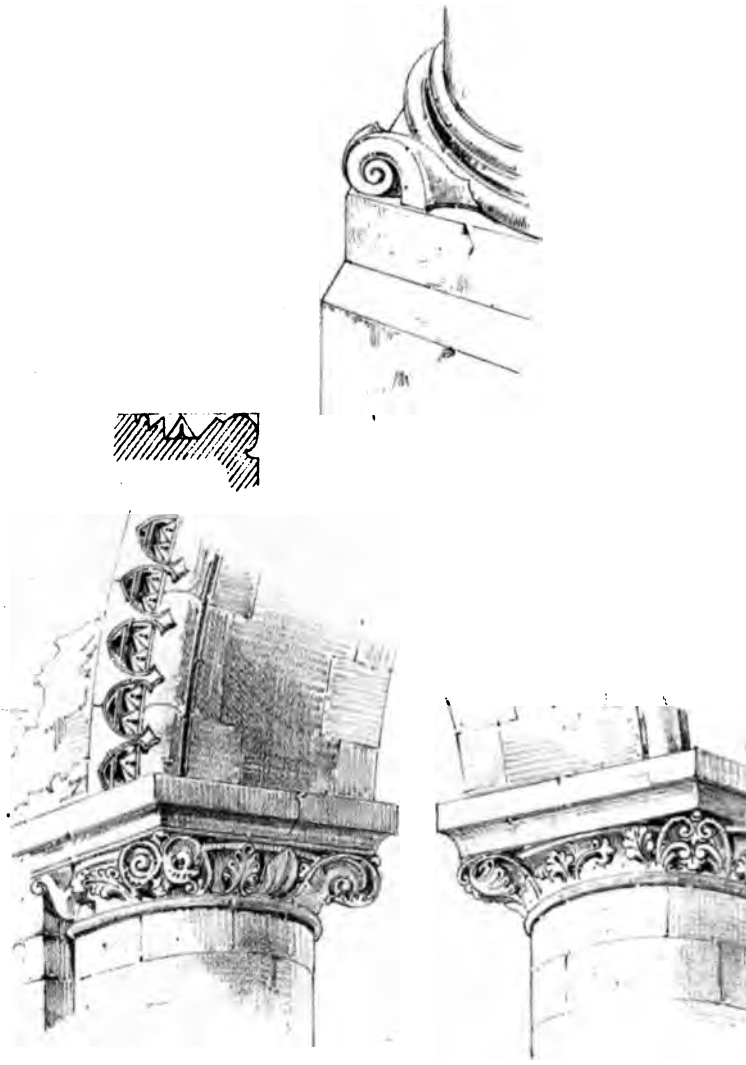
"Here lyeth buried ye bodyes of Valentyne Edvarod Gentleman who had two wyfes Agnes and Joane by Agnes he had iiii sonnes and two daughters and also by Joane his second wyfe iii sonnes and vi daughters which Valentyne decessed the xxv daye of February in the yere of our Lorde God mccccclix after whose decease the layde Joane married with Thomas Paramor and by him hade a sonne and a daughter and the layde Joane decessed the fyfthe day of Apryll in the yere of o^r^ Lorde God mccccclxxiiii: whose soules God hathe taken to his mercy."

The stone appears to have been altered, *i.e.*, the effigy of Joan, the second wife, was placed too far on the left hand of her husband, the original casement remains; it was then let in again nearer, and to fill up the space on the stone a second male effigy has

been introduced; the first figure being that of Valentyne Edvarod, the second probably represents Thomas Paramor. Some remains of Perpendicular screen work exist in one bay opening into the chancel, and also in the opening into the south aisle. It is said that the whole of these screens remained until very recently, but were allowed by the Churchwardens to be removed, and are now lost.

The south or St. Thomas Chapel opens by a doorway from the chancel, and is at a lower level. The whole of the walls are Early English, the arcades are splayed, the arch over the south side into aisle springs from a corbel, with indications of Norman work; a bold string runs internally round the south and east sides; one of the original windows remains with the piscina and the external doorway. Traces of the original Early English window, a triplet, are seen in the east wall on the outside. John Andrews of Thanet, by his will, proved 1480, ordered himself to be buried in this chapel of Saint Thomas the Martyr, on the south side, and he devised six marks to the making of a window in the east part of the said chapel. No doubt the Early English triplet was then removed. This chapel, which was formerly used as the parish school room, has been much disfigured, the fire-place remains, and not unlikely blocks up an original *hagioscope*, looking on to the high altar. The parclose screen remains in the arch to the aisle; the organ is placed in this chapel, occupying the arch into the chancel, in which no doubt there was formerly also a parclose.

In this chapel, which is used as a vestry, there is a discarded Jacobean altar-table, 5 ft. 2½ in. by 2 ft. 8½ in., with a movable top, ordered to supersede the for-



CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS AT WADE IN THANET.

Joseph Clarke F S A del.

LS AND ONE BASE, FROM THE SOUTH ARCADE OF THE NAVE.

Lithographer
40 King St. Covent Garden

mer fixed tops. The parish chest is here, but the original lid has been destroyed, and a flat cover between the circular ends exists. The actual altar-table in the chancel is good, and has a fixed top. Travelling into the nave, it appears there were formerly, besides the image of our Lord on the Cross set over the rood loft, images of St. Katherine, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Holy Trinity, and altars and lights belonging to each of them.

The nave contains most interesting remains, and appears to have been part of the original Norman structure. The south arcade is of four bays, and the two arches to the east are equal in width, carried on Norman piers. The third arch is Early English; the next arch, abutting on the tower, is Perpendicular, and was probably reconstructed at the time when the upper stages of the tower were built. The south wall is Decorated, and breaks back in an unusual way to meet the inner face of the south wall of the tower. The nave seems to have been lengthened when the tower was commenced; but the added work is not nearly so beautiful. The whole of the north arcade is of the same date; the north wall of this aisle is Perpendicular, it seems built on the site of earlier foundations, and probably forms part of the fifteenth century additions. The south porch is late; over it is a very perfect parvise, approached by the original wood steps; its fireplace remains. This parvise is used for lumber, and as a plumber's shop for repairs; such use may some day lead to the destruction, not only of this interesting room, but of the whole church. The tower, a great feature of the fabric, stands in the west angle of the south aisle. It is a noble design, and though of different dates, harmonizes most beautifully. The lower

stage was groined to the church, but this groining has disappeared, although the springers and corbels remain. The floor is used as a baptistery. The Decorated portion is faced externally with small squared flint; the ashlar work of this part is most delicately wrought and moulded. The upper stages are later, but shew good work, and this tower must be regarded as one of the best to be seen in Kent. The original roofs partly remain; but, unfortunately, some years ago the eastern part of the nave roof was taken off, and very poorly replaced. The clerestory is Perpendicular. The striking feature, internally, is the treatment of the carving in the caps of the Norman arcade. On the Norman cushion caps, of two of the piers, Early English carving has been introduced, partly cut into the old work; but in places pieces of stone must have been let in, and the joints in the masonry seem to indicate this, to obtain the greater projection required. The carving of the arches is simply beautiful, and almost unique. The Early English treatment of the third arch is very fine, and assimilates entirely with a good deal to be found in some of the neighbouring churches of the same date. The chancel has recently been restored by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and in 1876 the nave was reseated, the utmost care was taken to preserve the ancient features of the church, and all the ledgers were relaid as nearly as possible in their former places, where any record of the inscriptions could be found.

This church should be noted as one of much interest; it is well worthy of all the care which can be bestowed upon it, and should not be overlooked by visitors to the Isle of Thanet.

THE CANTERBURY MARCHING WATCH WITH ITS PAGEANT OF ST. THOMAS.

BY J. BRIGSTOCKE SHEPPARD.

TOWARDS the end of the fourteenth century the citizens of Canterbury, with Simon Sudbury their Archbishop, heard with apprehension the first mutterings of that discontent which, in 1381, broke forth in the thunder of the rebellion known as the "rising of the commons of Kent;" a convulsion which, short-lived as it was, proved fatal to the Archbishop and most disastrous to the city.

The primate and the burgesses had not contented themselves with idly foreboding the coming storm, but had done the best that time allowed towards putting their dilapidated fortifications into a defensible condition, so as to dam the popular torrent when the time arrived for it to burst its bounds, or, failing that, to divert it from the city in which their treasures were stored. To the Archbishop alone the credit is popularly given of having built the city walls; but the fact appears to be that he contributed largely to the works which the citizens undertook, and that to him they especially owed the West Gate, which still stands an unmatched example of mediæval fortification at its best period. In the first years of the reign of Richard II, when these works were most actively pushed on, there was no expecta-

tion of any foreign invasion sufficient to call for the outlay of such vast sums of money as must have been spent upon these noble gates and curtain-walls, and it is therefore not improbable that the prescient Archbishop and the wealthy citizens built their bulwarks of Kentish rag and flint to beat back their rebellious fellow-countymen, rather than conjectural invaders sent by the lately baffled enemy across the Channel.

The rebuilding of the walls occupied so many years that before it was completed the dreaded insurrection arrived, and the rebels, led by Wat Tyler "of Essex," as their first great exploit surprised the city, broke open the gaols and the castle, where they found the Sheriff of the county, whom they compelled to give up for destruction all the rolls and writs by virtue of which the taxes and subsidies were collected. Leaving Canterbury, they at once marched upon London, and before they had been twelve hours in the city they made a dash at the Tower, where the Archbishop was found, and, on the spot, beheaded. These acts of violence, committed only three days apart, with no exploit of equal magnitude intervening, seem to indicate that the commons, divining the animus which had prompted the rebuilders of the Canterbury defences, snatched the earliest occasions for revenging themselves upon first one and then the other of their opponents. Whether this guess be or be not well founded, it is certain that, stimulated by the misfortunes to which their want of preparation had laid them open, the citizens of Canterbury carried on with energy the works of their fortifications, cleared their ditches, and protected their gateways with portcullis and drawbridge.

The old patriotic song tells us :—

> Britannia needs no bulwarks,
> Nor towers along the steep;
> She has her own, her gallant hearts,
> To guard her and to keep.

Now it was just these "gallant hearts" which, in the reign of Henry IV, were lacking to the city; not, as the song hints, to supersede the bulwarks, but to double their strength by adding an active to a passive resistance.

At this period the mustering of a few drilled men, even the unlicensed assembling of a party of nobles at a sportive tournament, was an offence against the law. It is nothing wonderful that the King, who upon his landing to claim his Lancastrian heritage, saw his own little company grow, as if by magic, into a large and victorious army, should be jealous of the formation of a stationary armed band within a fortified city, at a time when a reactionary movement in favour of Richard, alive or dead, was quite upon the cards.

It is probable that the leaders of the Canterbury citizens applied for the royal license to empower them from time to time to muster their fellow-townsmen in arms, in order to keep up a martial spirit among them, and to assure themselves of the existence of a resident garrison. If the application was made it was certainly refused, and the wealthy city, whose walls surrounded the cathedral, abounding in shrines of priceless worth, continued to be in the same state of defence as is a warehouse stored with valuable goods when the owner has locked the door.

The Chamberlain's accounts in the city archives, from which are borrowed or deduced most of the facts contained in this paper, record that the gates were,

when completed, mounted with cannon; probably also a few men existed within the walls who were considered to be artillerymen, because they were willing to risk their lives in firing these primitive pieces of ordnance. Under the date 1404, we find:—

Pro carriagio gunnarum de Westgate usque ad cameram.

and—

Duobus Lathomis pro factura rotundarum petrarum gunnarum.

The invasion of France by Henry V carrying away the professional fighting men, caused the ruling powers to begin to look with favour upon the citizen-soldiers whom we now designate "the auxiliary forces," and this change of policy was perceived by John Sheldwych, who at the time represented the city in Parliament. Again and again he applied for a license to hold "musters," and at last he succeeded in obtaining it, but apparently the permission was only granted *pro hac vice*. The Chamberlain takes credit in his annual balance-sheet thus:—

(1415).—Johanni Sheldwych ad prosequendas litteras patentes ad habendam monstracionem hominum ad arma - - - - - - - - - - - lxj^{s} viij^{d}

(1418).—Johanni Sheldwych pro custagiis ad impetrandum unum breue pro arraiacione hominum armatorum in civitate Cantuar. videnda - - - - - - iij^{s} iiij^{d}

(1420).—Johanni Sheldwych pro expensis suis equitando ad Locum Tenentem Castri Dovorie pro amicicia sua habenda pro visu armatorum hominum Cantuar. xiij^{s} iv^{d}

Sheldwych succeeded so well in his suit that the citizens, taking it for granted that the "musters" would become a regularly recurring event, ventured to purchase a flag to serve as rallying-point for their band:—

Solut. Johanni Mullyng ad custus unius vexilli depicti cum armis Cantuar. gerendi tempore del moustre et gunner. cum acciderint, ad honorem civium Cantuar. viij^{d}

After twenty-two years, in 1442, Sheldwych being still alive, another and rather a strange advocate for the musters appears :—

Solut. Ricardo Bocton, Harpour, pro impetracione cujusdam brevis patentis directi Ballivis civitatis Cantuar. et aliis pro monstracione et arraiacione hominum armatorum, Architenencium, Hobelariorum, et aliorum hominum defensibilium et resistentium &c. Quod quidem breve remanet in manibus Joh'is. Sheldwych unius Commissionariorum - - - - viij^{s} vj^{d}

It will be noticed that in the present sketch, where history is distilled from the city cash-books, every act, whether it be vicious or virtuous, has a money value attached to it.

During the Wars of the Roses, when the victorious party for the time being used to raise recruits on all sides, so important a city as Canterbury was of course compelled to contribute, sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other. More than once, after a battle in a distant shire which gave preponderance to the Red Rose or the White, some such sum is charged as—

Deliberat. Capitaneo vocato Quynt eo quod predictus capitaneus non offenderet civitati nec in aliquo dampnum faceret cum familia in civitate Cantuar. - xiij^{s} iv^{d}

Bread and wine were sent outside the gate to the detachment, and perhaps one or two men were equipped with soldiers' coats, which was all that appeared to be necessary in order to make soldiers of them, and added to the "Capitane's" force. Such payments appear to have been made with reluctance, but in the critical year 1470-1 really voluntary assistance was given to the White Rose, and a great mistake was made when, immediately afterwards, her Red rival became temporarily supreme. Edward being in the North, a large company was equipped and sent to him

under the command of Captain Brome; then, upon Edward's flight, which probably took place before the arrival of the Canterbury company, Alderman Faunt was dispatched to London to congratulate Henry VI, *Rex nunc*. Edward's victorious return within six months shewed that this last was a false move. We do not learn what became of Brome's band; probably they slunk home by twos and threes; but Nicholas Faunt was hanged by command of Edward IV in 1471. He represented the city in the last Parliament of Henry VI, and at his death a compromising note, probably a list of Lancastrian sympathisers, was found in his pocket, and brought to Canterbury by a friendly hand:—

Solut. Cuidam famulo Georgii Brome militis pro quadam cedula inventa in Bursa Nichi'. Faunt de diversis nominibus honestorum virorum Cantuar. - - x^{d}

During this period of political confusion, it is not easy to trace the fortunes of the Canterbury Volunteers; but taking a leap of fifty years, we come upon the Muster, or Watch, not only full-grown, but even, the novelty having worn off, become decrepit from age.

A book of the ordinances enacted by the Court of Burgmote contains (circ. 1490) the following:—

Forasmoche as almaner of harnes within the Citie of Canterbury is decrased and rustid for lacke of yerly watche, the whiche watche before thys time haue bene yerly contynewed by owre predecessours, to the grete honour of the seid citie, and proffyte of the fense of the reme, by makyng clene and purches yerly of harnes within the same; and by cawse now of late summe maiers in ther yer haue fule honourably kepte the seide watche, and summe maiers none. Wherfore it is enacted and agreed, by the Auctoritie of the same Burgemote, that frome hensforth yerly, every maier shall contynewe and kepe the seid watche in the Euen of the Translation of St Thomas the Martier. And in the aforseide Watche the Sheryfe of

the seid citie to ryde in harnes, with an henchman after him onestly emparelled, for the honour of the same citie. And the Maier to ryde att his plesur, and yf the Maiers plesur be to ryde in harnes, the Aldermen to ryde in like maner; and if he ryde in his scarlet gowne, the Aldermen to ride after the seid watche in scarlet and crymesyn gownes. And yf eny Maier her after for slowthe or wilfulnesse will not observe this act, in contynewyng the seide watche with the premysses, to forfette to the commonalte x^{li}; and if eny Sherife her aftir for sloweth or wilfulnesse do as is above seide, to forfette to the Commonalte as above seide v^{li}. And yf eny Alderman by sloweth or wilfulnesse ryde not with the seide Maier, he to forfette to the seide Commonalte xl^{s}. Also it is enacted and agreed, that every Alderman shall fynde two cressetts, brennyng, in the seide watche, and euery one of the Comen Counsel, euery Constable, and Towne Clerk one cressett to brenne in lyke forme. And yf eny of the seid persons lacke eny cressett that nyght, he to forfett for every cressett so lackyng iii^{s} iv^{d}. Whiche amerciaments to be layed owt by the seid Maier to his owne use towarde his charges susteyned in the same watche. Also the Maier for the time beyng to fynd two cressets and vi torches, or moo att his plesure.

Music was not wanting:—

Solut. xi die Julii Tubicenis Londoniensibus pro vigilia Sci. Thome - - - - - - - - - x^{s}
In rewarde yeuen to the Wayts of London on Seynt Thomas night goyng before the watche - - - x^{s}
For one that played upon a drumme in the watche - - viij^{d}
To a trumpeter that blew in the watche before the horsemen - - - - - - - - - - xx^{d}

The city furnished some of the appointments, together with extra cressets, in addition to those provided by the Mayor and his officers.

For a new cressett and for lights for ij cressetts and for beryng them in the watche - - - - - iiij^{s} vj^{d}

Accidents occurred, as might well be expected:—

Paied to ij Flemmyngs that were hurte with gunne powder in the watche - - - - - - - - xij^{d}

This mention of gunpowder makes it necessary to state that from ten to twenty pounds of ammunition

were exploded by the gunners and caliver men, besides that which was employed to give *éclat* to the pageant by which the Watch was accompanied.

It is easy to call before the mind's eye a picture of Mr. Mayor "in harneys," standing on the steps of the Burgmote Hall, his head covered by a morion gay with plumes of scarlet and white, the city colours; his portly form bound in a buff jerkin, and uncomfortably buckled into a bright corslet; while immediately around him are grouped the steel-cased Sheriff and Aldermen, the back-ground being filled up by a motley crowd of armed citizens, the best appointed of them being those privileged to wear the "almayn ryvetts" and breastplates belonging to the city, which then were and now are kept in the Guildhall, ready at hand for use in case of emergency. The figure-piece above sketched would be unfinished unless it were provided with an appropriate back-ground, and this is supplied by the clear-obscure of a July night, smoky with torches and lurid with flaring cressets, dimly revealing the Gothic front of the Guildhall, whose open double doors indistinctly shew preparations for a supper, to be eaten when the procession is over. Half-an-hour spent before Rembrandt's "Night Watch,"* as I love to call it rather than by its new name, will give a better idea of the scene confusedly outlined above, than any amount of futile so-called word-painting.

In 1503-4, "The Pagent of Seynt Thomas," a new element, new as far as we have authority to go upon, was introduced as a part of the procession of the Watch, in the shape of a car drawn by horses, and carrying an altar, before which the patron saint

* No. 289 in the National Gallery.

of the city, represented by a boy episcopally vested, bowed beneath the strokes of four other boys, armed as knights of the period. A simple *tableau vivant* would have been tame after the first five minutes, and therefore, to give animation, from time to time the knights flourished their swords, the Archbishop was struck prostrate by their blows, and a cleverly-concealed actor spirted some blood upon the martyr's forehead, two leather bags of that fluid being always provided for the purpose. This part of the play having been performed, the mob huzzaed, gunpowder was flashed off, and a "vyce" representing an angel, flapped its wings and spun rapidly round and round, impelled by another concealed actor; who, by the way, only received twopence for his night's work, although he was hidden, half smothered by the hangings of the altar, in a cavity so dark that he required a candle to enable him to perform his mechanical part of "turnour of the vyce." This *vyce*, or device, must not be confounded with the low-comedy actor, sometimes representing a clown, oftener an imp, who, under the name of *The Vyce*, was introduced, both in and out of season, in the mysteries and moralities of the Middle Ages.

A great part of the description thus strung together from the records of many years can be verified by the bill sent in for the first production of the "Pageant;" other items picked up here and there are added, and will not be uninteresting:—

1504.—"Expenses of Seynt Thomas Pageant."

Imp. Paied to Sampson carpenter and hys man hewyng and squaryng of tymber for the seid pagent by one day - - - - - - - - - - viij^{d}

It. Paied to Stulpe for makyng of Seynt Thomas carte with a peyr of whyles - - - - - - - - v^s $viij^d$

It. To Thomas Slacke and hys felowe makyng of the pagent by iiij daies takyng bitwene theym by the day fynding theym self $xiij^d$ Sum. - - - $iiij^s$ $viij^d$

It. To Richarde Harte for two 'yaxrongs (axle rungs) weyeng iiij l^l & di - - - - - - - v^s

It. For c and xiiij fote of borde bought for the floryng of the same pagent - - - - - - - - ij^s $viij^d$

It. In c of iij peny nayle iij^d & in c & di of ij^d nayle iij^d & in smalle nayle j^d ob. Sum. - - - - vij^d ob.

It. In talowe for the whiles - - - - - - - j^d

It. In ale spent j^d, to iiij men to help to cary the pagent $viij^d$, and to Jamys Colman for hys horse hyre $iiij^d$ Sum. - - - - - - - - - - - $xiij^d$

It. Paied for ij baggs of leder to Gylliam - - - $xviij^d$

It. To Gylbert payntor for payntyng of the Awbe and the Hedde - - - - - - - - - vj^d

It. To Arnold Lokyer for gun powder bought at Sandwych iij^s $iiij^d$

It. For fettyng of borde from Northgate - - - ij^d

It. For lynen cloth bought for Seynt Thomas garment - vj^d

It. For a dosen and a half of tynen sylver - - - ix^d

It. For di. li. of glew j^d ob. in an erthyn potte, ob. packthrede j^d Sum - - - - - - - - iij^d

It. For ij calvys skynnys $xiiij^d$, in syse bought j^d, viij dossen of Cades poynts $viij^d$ in gold foyle j^d Sum - - ij^s

It. In colys for to mylt the glew ob. In a rewarde yeven to Thomas Flecher for forgyng and makyng the Knyghts harnes vj^d, to John a Tent for the hyre of a sworde ij^d, and for wasshyng of an albe and a amys ij^d Sum - - - - - - - - x^d

It. In candills - - - - - - - - - j^d

In preparation for the show of 1507, the pageant was repaired :—

ij Dd. & di. de Tynfoyle - - - - - - - - vij^d ob

Dimid. Dd. de Goldfoyle - - - - - - - ij^d ob

iij lb of Gunpowder - - - - - - - - $xviij^d$

Pro labore unius hominis pro emendacione harnes militum xx^d

Pro le gettyng sanguynem - - - - - - - $iiij^d$

In pane et servisia pro ij^{bus} hominibus, pro le dressyng ejusdem pagenti, cum expensis militum - - xij^d

Le Jakett, j pake (*sic*) - - - - - - - - xij^{s} xj^{d}
Stacio le pagent (in the barn at St. Sepulchre's) - - xvj^{d}
Le payntyng capitis Sci. Thome - - - - - - iiij^{d}

In 1512 :—

For a calvys skyn to mend the Knyghts harnes therewith - iiij^{d}
For ossydew (?) & browne paper, for a leffe of synaper (sinopis=ruddle), and for gold paper for the seid harnes - - - - - - - - - - - iij^{d}
For rede lede - - - - - - - - - - - j^{d}
For a payer of new gloues for Seynt Thomas - - - j^{d}
For fetchyng downe of the gunnes fro Westgate, Seynt Georges gate, and fro the Towers, and beryng of them to the store howse - - - - - - v^{d}
For payntyng of the hede and the Aungell of the pagent - xxij^{d}

In 1514 :—

Paied to hym that turned the vyce - - - - - - ij^{d}

In 1515 :—

Paied for wyre for the vyce of the Aungell j^{d} For j quarter of Lambe, and brede and drynk gevyn to the children that played the knyghts, & for them that holpe to convey the pagent abowte - - - - - xj^{d}
Paied to Jon Harts wyfe for washyng of the albe and other clothys abowte the Auter, & settying on agayn the apparell - - - - - - - - - - iiij^{d}
Paied for drynk for the children before their goyng furthe, & for candell to lyght the turnour of the vyce - ij^{d}

In 1529 :—

For a new typpett of buckeram - - - - - - vj^{d}
For a new leder bag for the blode - - - - - - vj^{d}
For vermylen, byce, tynfoyle, goldfoyle, rede lede, & paynters oyle - - - - - - - - - iiij^{s} vj^{d}
For drynk & on to turne the vyce - - - - - - v^{d}

In this year the pageant, which, when out of use, stood in the barn of the Prioress of St. Sepulchre, at an annual rent of 16d., was transferred to the disused (?) Archbishop's Palace, at the cost of a new pair of "shoos to the kepar of the palys," or of 9d., if he preferred to receive ready money.

In 1530 a curious item appears:—

For lyftyng of the pageant over the barrs in the palys, in & out - - - - - - - - - vj^{d}

The popularity of the show appears not to have diminished until the ominous year 1536-7, when its rapid fall is expressed in the accounts, thus:—

Receyved of Stephen Apsley for the cart of "Bysshop Bekket's" pageaunt - - - - - - - iij^{s} iiij^{d}

For caryeng of Bysshop Bekkets cart from the Palys to Apsleys - - - - - - - - - - ij^{d}

In 1541 it had become dangerous for any one to look to "Bysshop Bekket" as a patron, and the city was deeply implicated in this matter. Many years before, the Burgmote Council had caused the city arms to be erased from their counterseal, and had substituted a lively representation of the murder of Archbishop Thomas, whose widespread reputation filled their inns and fostered their commerce. When Henry VIII removed the shrine and scattered the martyr's dust to the winds, the citizens took steps to bring their seal into harmony with the new opinions:—

Payd to Oldfield bellfownder for putting owte Thomas Bekket from the Commen Seale and gravyng agayn of the same - - - - - - - - - -

Examples of the seal in both its states are to be found attached to deeds in the possession of the Dean and Chapter.

The dramatic representation of the murder of the Archbishop, with its attendant "vyce," having been suppressed, the populace in compensation were provided with another show, apparently copied from the Gog and Magog processions dear to the Londoners. With a double proportion of gunpowder and some comically terrible giants, the commons were probably as well pleased as they were with the old show, which

had doubtless long ceased to arouse any devotional feelings.

The entry which announces the change runs :—

Payd for fetchyng the Gyaunts and the gonnes from the store house to the Court Hall - - - - ij^{d}

The giants made their annual progress until the first year of Mary, when, to prepare the way for a revival of the old pageant, "two charyotts," of course gaily decorated, marched with the Watch.

In Mary's second year (1554-5), there was a complete revival of all the glories of St. Thomas and his show. The cart, we know, had been sold in 1537, but the harness, except the helmets, appears to have been forthcoming at the revival. A new cart was made, and a very substantial scaffold erected upon it, torches and candlesticks were provided in great numbers, but, and with good reason, the *vyce*, the blood, and the gunpowder were omitted. The knights' helmets having been lost, a new set was provided :—

For makyng of a mould to make the helmetts for the knyghts - - - - - - - - - xiiij^{d}

No further mention of the Pageant as an adjunct to the Watch procession occurs in the accounts; of course in Elizabeth's reign it was totally suppressed, but it is satisfactory to find that its end is not left in uncertainty. Far on in the reign of the Maiden Queen somebody found the old platform in the city storehouse, and turned it out. The short, final record is very suggestive :—

Rec^{d} of Mr Arden for a payer of wheles and the bedd of an old pageant - - - - - - - - ij^{s} viij^{d}

A generation had passed away. Doubtless fathers continued to tell their sons of the merry doings in the old days—how, as the sun set on the 11th of July,

each man, arming himself with his best weapon, with a partizan which his grandfather had wielded at Bosworth, or a bow with which his father had done good service at Flodden, used to march out, not unadvised by his wife, to join the Mayor in the Watch; how they marched to each of the city gates, where those who had guns fired a salvo; how, as the smoke cleared away, the Knights of the Pageant used to make their swords clatter over the head of the martyr, from which flowed streams of real blood, whilst an angel, hovering in mid-air, flapped his wings and turned to every point of the compass. The fathers, *laudatores temporis acti*, who told these tales, would see again the events of their youth through the rose-coloured glass of memory, and would depict them with the glowing colours of their recollections. It is no wonder, then, when a town-serjeant found a pair of wheels and some worm-eaten planks, made more squalid by adhering rags of painted canvas, that he designated the collection "the bed of an old Pageant," failing to recognize in the rotting rubbish that wondrous stage which his father had described as gorgeously decorated, and upon whose eminence he had witnessed such moving representations of the murder of a superbly-vested Archbishop by the hands of four fully-equipped knights.

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the Marching Watch was superseded by a more efficient organization for national defence. The active foreign policy of that Queen required that the whole population should be converted into a militia, from whose ranks an extemporaneous army could be drafted in case of emergency. With this object in view Commissioners of Array, chosen from the gentry and chief citizens, were permanently appointed in every county,

whose duty it was to see that the young men of their city or district assembled three or four times in every year to learn military drill, and to practise shooting at a mark with bows and hand-guns.

In the case of the citizens of Canterbury, the new regulations were carried out with exactness; a considerable store of weapons, to arm those who had none of their own, and of ammunition for the fire-arms, was purchased and maintained at the public expense, and, on the four great festivals, the younger citizens marched to Babbs Hill, there occupying themselves for one or two days under the instruction of a Muster Master. On these occasions the Commissioners and other seniors were provided with seats, placed in a commanding position to enable them to watch the evolutions, a tent (tilt) being provided for shelter in bad weather. Bread and ale for the soldiers, and more refined refreshments for the Commissioners, were not forgotten, the latter, moreover, meeting after work was done at one of the inns to recruit themselves with an abundant supper.

By means of these opportunities for training, the men of Canterbury became a local militia capable of maintaining their fortifications against any sudden attack of domestic or foreign foes. It may be mentioned that the shooting was not mere random sport, but a serious business; an accurate account was kept of the scores, the "tallies" being carried between the hill and the Court Hall by a special messenger. Subjoined are a few specimens selected from the items in which these details are recorded:—

For drynk yeuen to the men that musterd at the Towne Hall doore - - - - - - - - - ij^{s}

To Mr Symon Bromme for tenne pownd of powder - - - x^{s} x^{d}

For matche and leade then for bulletts - - - - xix^{d}
More then for a pownde of powder - - - - - xix^{d}
Payd more that day for powder by Mr Maiors commaundement - - - - - - - - - - iiij^{s} j^{d}
To the drummes & phyf at the musters - - - - iiij^{s} vj^{d}
Payd to the xx soldyours then for ij dayes - - - xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
To Mr Ower and Nicholson conductors of them - - ij^{s}
To the Wallon drumme for the day of the musters at Berham Downe - - - - - - - - xij^{d}
To Danyell the cutler for cleanyng the corseletts, for lynyng of viij head peces, for cleanyng of vii pikes, and for makyng cleane of nyne murrions - - xviij^{s}
For mendyng the towne peces and their flaskes - xxiv^{s} iiij^{d}
Payd to the xx trayned shott for there three days trayning this yeare - - . - - - - - - xl^{s}
To Edward Newchuche when he went to Sandwich with Mr Maior to shote there - - - - - - v^{s}
Payd upon the comyng of the gentlemen of Rye with their company, with a company of souldyours, to meet & skyrmysshe, first xv pounde of powder at xiiij^{d} the pounde - - - - - - - - - xvij^{s} vj^{d}
Then for ij pounde of matche - - - - - - - xx^{d} ob.
That nyght pay^{d} for their whole supper beyng abowte the nombre of fower score persons then suppyng at the signe of the Swan - - - - - - - iiij^{li} ij^{s}
More payd for wyne the nexte nyght following - - v^{s}
Payd more then for v^{li} of powder - - - - - v^{s} x^{d}
More for matche, di. a pounde - - - - - - ij^{d} ob.
More for powder at their farewell ij pounde & di. - - ij^{s} xi^{d}
Payd hym that playde on the drumme that dwelt without Westgate - - - - - - - - - xij^{d}
For browne paper to wrap the powder in - - - - j^{d}
For wyne caryed to be dronck without Wynchepe gate at the Rye mens farewell - - - - - - - ij^{s}
Payd to one to play wyth the drumme on Holly crose day when the xxx callyver men shewed them selves in the Friers & after went to Mr Mayer - - - xij^{d}
For bryngyng a hoggshead of powder and a sacke of matche from Feuersham to Canterbury - - - xxij^{d}
For buyldyng the tents at the musters, & the boys drumme that day - - - - - - - - - xxij^{d}

For makyng the tents at the hill ayenst an other muster -
For a case for the enseign - - - - - - - xij^{d}
For a gallon of Sack to Capitayn Skynck - - - - iij^{s} iiij^{d}
To Hodge for wearyng the Armour at the Halle to Berham Downe - - - - - - - - - - iiij^{d}
For double heddyng ij drummes & for the stuff - - iij^{s} iiij^{d}
Payd at the Cheker for Mr Maior & Captayn Palmer, being muster master, and the rest of the commissioners, for their dynner to the number of xxvij at xvj^{d} the pece - - - - - - - -
For xv mens dynners offycers & seargeants at vj^{d} the pece
For xi offycers and servyng men their dynner - - - v^{s} vj^{d}
For brede and dryncke sent to Captayne Brome to the hill xij^{s} xj^{d}
For powder to shote of the olde peces - - - - xij^{d}
To a labourer for carryeng & recarryeng the tallies and fourmesto & from Babbs Hill, when the muster was toke of the bowes of this cytie - - - vj^{d}
Payd to the trayned shott when they went to Margate - vj^{s} viij^{d}
Payd to Newchurche for heddyng the drumme & other his paynes taken with the Souldyers - - - - x^{s}
To the souldyers of Sandwich a pounde of sugar & a gallon of Wyne - - - - - - - - - iiij^{s}
For Mr Penny for mony layd owte by hym beyng maior in a matche of shootyng - - - - - - ix^{s}

In the Armada year (1588) a camp was formed at Northbourne, to watch the coast and to prevent a landing of the Spaniards upon the flat shore between Deal and Ramsgate. To the camp flocked the several companies that formed the East Kent Battalion, Canterbury contributing two hundred men led by Alderman Brome, whose namesake commanded the band sent to reinforce Edward IV in 1470. The Canterbury contingent consisted chiefly of bowmen and billmen, the latter armed with weapons and corslets served out from the Guildhall; but, besides these were twenty "trayned shott," or "calyver men," who, in skill and appointments, approached the soldier of the present day. The Walloon "Estraungers," who had

settled in the city some twenty years before, took their places in the ranks with their English fellow-citizens, cheered by the rattle of their own "Wallon drumme." The zeal with which this and the other drums were thumped is proved by the appearance, after every muster, of charges for "new heddyng of a drumme;" sometimes two, or even three, drums required repairing at a time.

The following extracts refer to the steps taken on shore to repel enemies landing from the great Spanish fleet:—

For fettyng of certeyn harnys, from the pallys (probably St. Augustine's) - - - - - - - -
To an armorer for skoweryng and nayling of xiiij payers of Harnys - - - - - - - - -
For di. dossen of gyrdylls for the sheff arrowes - -
For xiij ells of saresuett for to make ij Awnsyentts - iij^{li} x^{s} iiij^{d}
For makyng of the seid Awnsyentts - - - - x^{s}
For hedds of the stavys - - - - - - - xij^{d}
For ij ounces of (sewing) sylke - - - - - xx^{d}
For ij tassels of the Awnsyentts - - - - - ij^{s}
To Michell the Iremonger for xiiij cappes & sculles the day that the company of the trayned men of the cytie were sente to the campe at Northbourne - xxx^{s}
For iij gyrdles wyth black hangers - - - - - ij^{s} ix^{d}
To buy trases for the tents at the campe - - - - xij^{d}
Payd to Mr Bartholomew Brome, Lieuetenant of the seid band of ij^{c} men, to defray the charges for poore men sent by the Chamber & other - - - - xl^{s}
To Potter for corde for the tents at the Campe and for his paynes to doe it - - - - - - - ij^{s}
More that was caste hym which I had not agayn - - vj^{d}
For a baskett when I sent to the Campe xij stone potts - ij^{d}
To Clarkson the fletcher for supplyeng & settyng up of ix bowes & for ix stryngs - - - - - ij^{s} ix^{d}
For halfe a yarde of blacke sylke to amende the enseign at the Campe - - - - - - - - xv^{d}
For a horse to the Campe for procuryng order of release

for N. Owen the Armorer and some poore men not of the select nombre - - . - - - - xx^{d}

Payd at the Campe to v poore men that had the cyties armes - - - - - - - - - - ij^{s} vi^{d}

Payd the xij day of August for heddyng ij single hedds of the drummes - - - - - - - - vij^{s}

For double heddying on Wyldes drumme - - - vij^{s}

For calves skynnes for a case for the drums & for makyng them - - - - - - - - - - vij^{s}

To Morrys & Bailey two of them that did wear the cyties armor - - - - - - - - - - viij^{d}

To the Wallon drumme toward the relief of his poore children he beyng from home in the Campe so wylled by Mr Maior - - - - - - - - ij^{s}

For the unguents and other thynges delyvered to Russell, Surgeon, for the Company and bande sent to the Campe to Northbourne - - - - - xxxviij^{s} x^{d}

Payed to him more for a cheste to bestowe his unguents and other his instruments of Surgerie in - - iiij^{d}

For an axe for the souldyers to cutt downe stuff for their cabynes - - - - - - - - - xij^{d}

The next item shews that, the Armada having been dispersed, the camp had been raised, and the peaceful competitions at the butts resumed :—

For settyng up an out marke at the But next the tower for feare of daunger by arrowes to the passenger for that one was kylled there wyth an arrowe - xij^{d}

One more item describes the passing away of the Armada panic and the triumphant suspending of the trophy of arms in the Guildhall :—

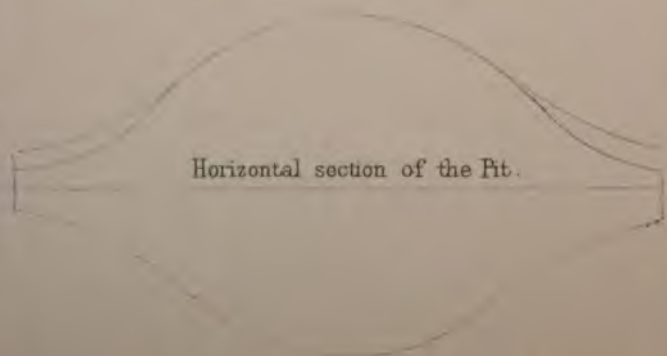
Payd to the boyes to helpe spede the cleanyng the armour to be sett up - - - - - - - - iiij^{d}

This outlay of fourpence brings to an end the history of the single piece of active service in which the Canterbury Volunteers of 1588 bore a part for the defence of their Queen and country. So far we have followed the fortunes of our citizen-soldiers in the sixteenth century. In comparing the Volunteers of the good

Queen Bess with those who now serve the better Queen Victoria, we have no reason to complain of the changes which have come over the corps. The "trayned shott" of the city are, in 1878, ten times as numerous as, and who shall say how many times more skilful than, their predecessors of 1588, whose lineal descendants they are, whose names they bear, and whose patriotism they emulate.

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis.—*Hor.*

Fig. 1.



Horizontal section of the Pit.

G. Dewhirr, del.

ROMAN REMAINS AT PRESTON NEXT WINGHAM.

Dear Mr. Roach Smith,

At Preston near Wingham, in 1872, in digging for gravel, an elegant urn with ornamented border was found, together with several Samian *Pateræ*, and large black urns with burnt bones. In the same field, on the Dearson Farm, on the top of a hill overlooking the little Stour valley, a few years after, a large assemblage of Pottery was found, which I was fortunate in being allowed to disinter. There were portions of, I should say, fifteen or twenty vessels, buried about two feet from the surface in peaty charcoal, in a space of about 6 feet by 4. See plan, fig. 1. They had evidently been subjected to fire heat in the hole in which they were found, the gravel soil around and beneath being calcined by the heat. The sides of the excavation had been plastered with a similar clay to that composing the pots, and into it straw or grass had been introduced. The pottery was all of one character, being coarse blue ware, like that composing the urns in which burnt bones are generally found; but no bones or other remains indicating a burial could be detected. The pots were all buried bottom uppermost, and appeared as if one had been placed within the other. They were reduced to fragments, evidently from the pressure of the superincumbent earth. The peculiar colour of the pots found appears due to the presence of charcoal or carbonized material, and their having been partially burnt; where the fire appeared to have raged fiercest they were of a red colour. Two apertures led down to the cavity facing east and west, which was somewhat in the shape of a soda-water bottle with a neck at each end. In one of these narrower portions a perfect vessel was found. I could only account for the

appearances I have just detailed on the supposition that this had been a sort of kiln, used for the purpose of preparing sepulchral vessels. The number packed together, apparently one in the other; the entire absence of bones, or any other sort of pottery; the fact that the vessels were all bottom upwards; and the two draft holes near the summit of the hill, all seemed to me to point to the same conclusion. I exclaimed, "Here is the undertaker's Kiln."—But you, Sir, will doubtless offer a better explanation.

Yours truly,

GEORGE DOWKER.

Considering this deposit as the remains of a Kiln, it does not appear how its construction could have answered its purpose, and it does not in any way correspond with any one of the examples of Roman Kilns, which, fortunately, have been drawn and engraved.* Even if it were one of the very humblest kind, constructed for some special purpose, it is not to be understood why the vessels should have been left in it.

Looked at under the probability of the interment being of a funereal character, we find an almost infinite variety in the modes of Romano-British burial, both as regards the entire body, and also the ashes of the burnt corpse. In the last volume (XI) of the *Archæologia Cantiana*, pp. 115–117, I gave some examples of what may be called baked clay tombs, and to such, I think, Mr. Dowker's interesting discovery may be referred. Mr. Dowker states that in the same field have been found evidences of burial, and it is not at all unlikely that the deposit under consideration may have belonged to a funereal interment, as an accessory to the main deposit, whether of the body entire, or of the *ossuarium* after cremation.

February 28*th*, 1878. C. ROACH SMITH.

* *Collectanea Antiqua* (vols. vi. and vii).

JAMES STUART, DUKE OF LENOX AND RICHMOND, OF COBHAM HALL.

BY THE LADY ELIZABETH CUST.

JAMES STUART, fourth Duke of Lenox, who was created Duke of Richmond, has, for the Kentish antiquary, an especial interest, as being the first of his name and race who actually resided at Cobham Hall, and as the builder of the central part of that mansion. He was a third cousin of King Charles I, and was, perhaps, the most personally attached of all the devoted adherents of that unfortunate sovereign. He appears to have regarded King Charles, who had superintended his education and bringing up, with almost filial love and reverence. The King on his side always treated him with the same kindness and affection that King James I had evinced for the Duke's father, Esmé Stuart, Lord D'Aubigny, and for his uncle Ludovic, Duke of Lenox. They had both accompanied King James from Scotland when he came to assume the crown of England, and the Duke of Lenox, who was hereditary Lord High Admiral and Lord Great Chamberlain of Scotland, had been created Duke of Richmond, and was enriched by the gift of Settrington, Temple Newsam, and other estates in England. In 1612, the forfeited estates of Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, were also granted to him subject to a lease

for life, which had been granted in 1604 to the Countess of Kildare, wife of Lord Cobham.

We are more immediately interested, however, in the fortunes of the second brother Esmé, Lord D'Aubigny, who had been brought up in France, and "received a noble education"* from his mother, Katherine,† widow of Esmé, 1st Duke of Lenox. According to Sir Robert Gordon, young Esmé "had constantlie and faithfullie followed King Henry IV, of France, in all his greatest troubles,"‡ and we find that he did homage for the lands of Aubigny§ to that King in the year 1600.‖

King James gave Lord D'Aubigny more than £25,000 in money,¶ and found him a rich wife, Katherine, the daughter and heiress of Sir Gervase Clifton, who, in honour of this alliance, was summoned to

* Crawford's *Great Officers of State*, p. 336.

† King James had sent to France in 1579 for her husband, Esmé Stuart, then Lord D'Aubigny (first cousin to Henry, Lord Darnley), and on his arrival in Scotland, had created him Earl of Lenox and Darnley, and in 1581 Duke of Lenox, but the Duke soon afterwards returned to France and died at Paris in 1583. On his death, his eldest son Ludovic, then nine years of age, was sent by the King's orders to Scotland, and brought up in the King's Palace. It is worthy of remark that Katherine, Duchess of Lenox, who was daughter of William de Balsac, Seigneur d'Entragues, could trace her descent through the marriage in 1414 of her ancestor, William de Montauban, with Bonne Visconti of Milan, from the noble and princely families of the Viscontis, Bourbons, Dorias, and Scaligers.

‡ Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 126.

§ The Lordship and lands of Aubigny were granted by Charles VII of France in 1422 to Sir John Stuart of Darnley, in gratitude for his services in the wars against the English, and were henceforth always held by a younger son of the Stuart-Lenox family, of which he was the ancestor.

‖ Andrew Stuart's *History of the Stewarts*, p. 266.

¶ Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, vol. ii., p. 247.

Parliament as Lord Clifton, of Leighton Bromswold, in 1608.* Lord Clifton, who seems to have become involved in constant disputes with his son-in-law, was at last sent to the Tower for having threatened to kill the Lord Keeper Bacon,† who had decided a lawsuit against him, and languished there for some months, till he put an end to his miserable life "from ennui," we are told, in October, 1618.‡ On the death of her father, Katherine, Lady D'Aubigny, came into possession of the Leighton estate, where he had begun to build a fine house.§ In the year 1619, Lord D'Aubigny was created Earl of March and Lord Stuart of Leighton, and was made first Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Lord Lieutenant of Huntingdonshire.‖ He had a large family of children, the eldest of whom, a daughter named Elizabeth, was born in July, 1610. His eldest son, James, the subject of this memoir, was born at Blackfriars, then a fashionable part of the town, on the 6th of April, 1612. He was baptised on the 26th of the same month, at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, King James being his godfather. The officers of the vestry are stated to have received £40 in fees on this occasion.¶ Other children quickly followed, Katherine and Henry, who died young, Anne born 1614, George, afterwards Lord D'Aubigny, born July 17th, 1618, Ludovic born 1619, John born 1621, and Bernard born about 1623. The three

* Gervase Lord Clifton's lineal descendant, the present Earl of Darnley, sits in the House of Lords as fifteenth Lord Clifton of Leighton Bromswold, in right of this summons.

† *Domestic State Papers*, James I, vol. xciv., No. 83.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ciii., No. 33.

§ Camden's *Britannia*, vol. ii., p. 162.

‖ Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 126.

¶ Malcolm's *London*, vol. iv., p. 275.

younger sons appear to have been born at March house, Drury Lane.*

On the sudden death of his brother Ludovic, on the 16th of February, 1624, Esmé, Lord D'Aubigny, succeeded him as third Duke of Lenox, and in all his other Scotch titles and dignities, and was made a Knight of the Garter in his place. He would also appear from a letter from Burlamachi to Sir Dudley Carleton, to have been Lord Lieutenant of Kent.† Upon his accession to the Dukedom, the courtesy title of Earl of Darnley‡ became the designation of his eldest son James.

Duke Esmé enjoyed his honours little more than five months, for having accompanied the King on a progress to the Midland Counties, he died after three days' illness of "spotted ague," at Kirby in Northamptonshire, July 30th, 1624. The Duchess had been hastily summoned, and came "three hours before his death, and before he was past sense and memory."§ He was buried in Westminster Abbey near Margaret, Countess of Lenox, without any great pomp on account of the absence of the Court. "It was scarce credible," says Sir Robert Gordon, "what grieff the King conceaved for the sudden and unexpected death of his deir and neir cusin, haveing so latelie lost his eldest brother." He sent at once for the eldest son James, now become fourth Duke of Lenox, who came to him at Woodstock‖ in the month of August. The King

* Vincent, *Discovery of Errors of Brook*, p. 332.

† *Domestic State Papers*, James I, vol. clxxii., No. 7.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. clxxi., No. 87.

§ Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, vol. iii., p. 985.

‖ The young Duke brought with him this touching letter to the King from his mother. It is preserved in the Advocates' Library,

took on himself the care and guardianship of the young Duke, then only twelve years old, with his brothers and sisters, and appointed commissioners, both in England and Scotland, to manage the Lenox estates. On the 15th of October, at Royston, the King and Duke made Sir Robert Gordon, who was a cousin of the Lenox Family, one of these commissioners, and he was afterwards selected by the Duke as his curator in Scotland. The King appointed the young Duke to be a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, selected for him "particular and domestic servants," and placed him at Trinity College, Cambridge.

Having sent "comfortable messages" to the widowed Duchess,* King James gave her £1,000 in September as a free gift.† In March, 1625, grants were made to her of £3,500, to pay Duke Esmé's debts, and of an annuity of £2,100 for her life and the lives of her two eldest sons, in addition to the yearly pension of £1,400 for table money, which having been given to Dukes Ludovic and Esmé, although "no other subject in Britain had" the like, was continued

at Edinburgh, MS. 33, 1, 7, Balfour Collection, Letter No. 80.

II.

"My Soueraigne lorde,

"According to your Maties gracious pleasure signified vnto me, I haue sent a young man to attend you, acompanyed with a widowes prayers and teares, that he may waxe olde in your Maties service, and in his fidelity and affection may equall his ancestors departed; so shall he find grace and fauor in the eyes of my lord the King, which will reuiue the dying hopes and rayse the deyiected spiritts of a comfortles mother.

"Your Maties

"Most humble seruant,

"KA. LENOX."

* Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland*, pp. 389, 390.

† *Domestic State Papers*, James I, vol. clxxii., Nos. 8, 9.

to the young Duke.* These grants had not passed the great seal when King James died, but were confirmed a few days afterwards by his successor.†

King Charles I shewed the same affectionate interest that his father had done in Duke Esmé's orphan family, and took the young heir into his special charge. He was sworn a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the new King on April the 23rd, 1625,‡ and we find him, two days afterwards, helping with his sister, Lady Elizabeth Stuart, to swell the pomp and state of their aunt Frances, Duchess of Richmond, on the occasion of her removal from Ely Place to her new residence, Exeter House, Strand.§

The Duke of Lenox is mentioned as one of the train-bearers of King Charles, at the funeral of his father, James I, which took place on the 7th of May.‖ The young Duke had been admitted to the degree of a Master of Arts, at Cambridge, by royal mandate in December, 1624, when King James was staying at Trinity College; a proceeding, which, according to a letter from Carleton to Nethersole, had "troubled the university,"¶ and in spite of his youth, his name was now affixed, as that of the author, to the two first pieces in a volume of Odes and Addresses issued by the University of Cambridge, in memory of the death of King James I.** We may suppose that Dr. Topham,

* Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 390.

† *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. i., No. 13.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i., No. 80.

§ *Court and Times of Charles I*, vol. i., p. 15.

‖ Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, vol. iii., p. 1047.

¶ *Domestic State Papers*, James I, vol. cclxxvi., No. 66.

** Cantabrigiensium Dolor et Solamen; seu Decessio beatissimi Regis Jacobi pacifici et successio augustissimi Regis Caroli, etc., 4to, p. 68 (Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, vol. iv., p. 1050).

the Duke's college tutor, assisted him in the composition of these addresses.

The Duchess continued to reside at March House, in Drury Lane, but probably she occasionally occupied Cobham Hall. It is difficult to decide when the Dukes of Lenox first took possession of their Kentish residence, but it would seem to have been about the year 1624. We know that as early as 1622 King James was trying to persuade Lady Kildare to sell her life interest to the Duke of Lenox, and it is certain that she had left Cobham some time before her death in 1628, when she was living at Deptford.* It may therefore be assumed that the Lenox family were living at Cobham in the year 1625, and this idea is much strengthened by the fact that Charles I brought his bride, Queen Henrietta Maria, to pass the night at Cobham Hall on their journey from Canterbury to London. King Charles would not have been likely to visit Lady Kildare, but it was most natural and probable that he should wish to make his youthful Queen acquainted with the Duchess and his young cousins, with whom he was on such affectionate terms of intimacy. The account of this visit must be given in the quaint words of a writer of that period:—

"On Wednesday the King and Queene departed from Canterbury and rode in the most triumphant manner that might be to Cobham Hall, finding all the high waies strewed with Roses and all manner of sweet flowers, and here at Cobham they lodged al that night, where there was all plentifull entertainment, and nothing wanting that might adde any honour either to the King or Kingdome. On Thursday, being the Sixteenth of June according to our Computation, the King and Queene departed from Cobham, all the

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XI., pp. 219, 229.

waies prepared as hath been before shewed, and so in most glorious manner came to the City of Rochester."*

Hitherto the Duchess seems to have stood high in the King's favour, but she gave him mortal offence in the spring of 1626, by having allowed her eldest daughter, Lady Elizabeth Stuart, to marry young Lord Maltravers, son of the Earl of Arundel, without the King's consent. Charles had arranged to marry the young lady to the eldest son of the Earl of Argyll, and was so angry at this frustration of his plans, that he would not listen to Arundel when he went to excuse himself by representing that Frances, the old Duchess of Richmond, had allowed the young people to meet at her house, and that the marriage had been arranged without his being consulted.† Arundel was sent to the Tower on the 6th of March, and remained there till June, although the House of Lords more than once protested against his illegal detention.‡ The young couple were imprisoned at Lambeth Palace for some weeks, where they were very kindly treated by Archbishop Abbott,§ and the Duchess of Lenox was "restrained" for about six months at Langley Lodge.||

The King wrote a letter to the Duchess on the 13th of November, granting her petition to be allowed the tuition and care of her son and his estate during his minority, it being found that the great officers of state, to whom the King had committed the manage-

* *A true discourse of all the Royall Passages, etc., observed on the marriage of King Charles I., etc.*, p. 29. 4to. London, 1625.

† *Court and Times*, vol. i., p. 86.

‡ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. xxii., No. 40.

§ *Court and Times*, vol. i., p. 177.

|| *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. xxxix., No. 56.

ment of the property, were too much occupied to attend to his interests.*

The Duchess was at this time much inconvenienced by the non-payment of her pensions, and wrote many letters to Secretary Conway on the subject; in one she says, if the pensions are not transferred to the Court of Wards, she "knows not how her son will be able to put meat into his mouth."† Lord Conway was able to arrange this for the Duchess, and they were afterwards paid more regularly.‡

The Duke of Lenox was still at Cambridge in November, 1627, and in February, 1627-8, when he wrote letters both to Secretary Conway and to the King, asking that Dr. Topham,§ who had acted as "his tutor for three years and a half, without any recompense," might be made Master of Trinity College at the next avoidance.‖

On the 12th of August, 1628, "James Steward, Duke of Leneux, was admitted" of Gray's Inn,¶ but we are not told whether he really devoted himself to the study of the law, or simply accepted the admission as an honorary distinction conferred upon him.

When the young Duke had finished his studies, the King arranged that he should complete his education by travelling in foreign countries, to fit him "for the service of his prince and countrie." The Duke appointed Sir Robert Gordon vice-chamberlain of

* *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. xxxix., p. 56.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xlviii., No. 3.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. lxxxv., No. 2.

§ This request was not granted, but Dr. Topham was soon after made Dean of Lincoln.

‖ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. lxxxv., No. 50, and vol. xciii., No. 64.

¶ *Harleian MSS.* 1912, fol. 162.

Scotland in his absence.* A royal licence was issued in September, 1629, permitting "James, Duke of Lenox, to travel with Dr. Topham, Dean of Lincoln, John St. Alman, and eight other servants with £200 in money."†

The Duke's departure was, however, delayed till the next year, possibly to enable him to attend the marriage of his second sister, Lady Anne Stuart, with Archibald, Earl of Angus, which was arranged this autumn, and which took place about May, 1630.‡ The King gave Lady Anne a marriage portion of £6000.§

At the christening of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II, which was performed on June 17th, 1630, by Laud, then Bishop of London, the Duke of Lenox represented King Louis XIII of France, one of the godfathers, and his aunt, the old Duchess Frances of Richmond, stood proxy on the same occasion for the godmother, Marie de Medicis, the Queen's mother.‖

We can fix the date when the Duke eventually started on his foreign tour from a letter of Admiral Sir Henry Mervyn's to Secretary Nicholas; he writes on the 10th of August, 1630, to report that he had taken the Duke across to France in his ship, "The Reformation," and that he landed him at Dieppe on the Friday before.¶ By the King's orders constant reports were sent to the Secretary of State, Lord

* Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 422.

† *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. cxlix., No. 108.

‡ Douglas's *Peerage*, vol. i., p. 442.

§ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. clxxxvi., No. 106.

‖ Rushworth, part ii., p. 69.

¶ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. clxxii., No. 42.

Dorchester, of the Duke's proceedings in France, and we gain from these letters, still preserved among the State Papers, much insight into the life of a young nobleman of that day.

Edward Dacres (probably his chaplain or secretary), writes on the 23rd of September, that the Duke had been to Aubigny to see his aged grandmother (Katherine, Duchess Dowager of Lenox, the widow of the first Duke Esmé), and that he was now settled at Paris, where his French relations took so much notice of him, and insisted on his doing so much, that he found it impossible to live on his allowance of £2,000 a year. The Duke, he says, was by no means extravagant, and he

"was fain to persuade him sometimes to spend as to spare. The Duke keeps house himselfe, pays 50 crowns a month for his house and household stuffe, buyes a coach and four horses and maintains them, hath 10 seruants, whereof 5 are gentlemen, hath bought new liveryes for a coachman and 3 lackeys."

All this, Dacres goes on to say, with other expenses in proportion, and five or six different "exercises," require an addition of at least £500 a year to his allowance, which he begs Dorchester to obtain from the Duchess, for

"the apprehension of his expences beyond his meanes, with his mother's dislike of it will clog and dull his spirit which hath no other want then quickening, ... both for his ability of body and diligence he excels all others in his exercises."*

The Duke often wrote himself to Lord Dorchester, and his letters are written in an extremely good clear hand, well spelt and expressed. Writing also on the 23rd of September, he consults Dorchester as to whether he should write often to the King, or only on par-

* *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. clxxiii., No. 56.

ticular occasions.* In his next letter he alludes to the wish of the King, that his brother, George Lord D'Aubigny, should return to England. D'Aubigny and another brother, Lord Ludovic Stuart, had been brought up in France as Roman Catholics by their grandmother, and were naturalized there, "that thereby they might be capable to inherit the lands of Aubigny."† Consequently D'Aubigny, who was being educated at the College of Navarre, seems to have been unwilling to leave his grandmother and other relations. The Duke wrote on December 3rd that the good news of Dorchester's letter was very welcome to him, and that he should venture sometimes to give an account of himself to the King, to whom he would shortly write:—

"Concerning his commands touching my brother D'Aubigny, whom I hope I shall worke from his friends in these parts, I doe not doubt but that I shall preuaile with him to preferre his obedience to his Maties commands before all his hopes of fortunes in France, when Monsr d'Entragues shall be come to towne which is our kinsman and his great friend, I shall be satisfied of my brother's resolution."‡

The Duchess, his mother, hearing of this, wrote to Dorchester, to beg that D'Aubigny, who was then twelve years old, might be allowed to remain another year in France, "when his course at the acadimei will be finished;" and also urged that in that time she believed "his grandmother will be departed, considering her great yeares and wekeness."§ The King seems to have granted her request, as we hear no more of the matter.

* *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. clxxiv., No. 38.

† Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 127.

‡ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. clxxv., No. 87.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. clxxxi., No. 68.

The summer of 1631 was spent by the Duke on the Loire, but the Duchess was greatly alarmed by a report which reached her through a Mrs. Sackville, "that honest Mr. Daceres was most dangerously sick, and the plague extreme at Blois."* Dacres was able to write himself on the 12th of August to Dorchester, to explain that he had been very ill of fever, but that the Duke was "continually in health," although they had been driven away from Blois and Tours by the plague. They had come "to Saumur to pass the rest of the dog days, after which the Duke intended to winter in Spain."† Lord Dorchester had written a long letter to the Duke in May, with directions from the King, that, after passing the summer on the Loire the Duke should go to Spain, and had enclosed to him "the opinion" as to his journey there, of Endymion Porter, who, it will be remembered, accompanied King Charles and Buckingham on their adventurous journey to Spain. After this he was to go, in the spring, to Italy; and to return by Lyons and Paris, either directly to England, or to spend the summer of 1632 with one of the two armies in the Low Countries.‡

How far these directions were carried out it is impossible now to say, as the interesting correspondence stops here; but we find that the Duke arrived in Madrid about February 1631–2.§ Young Lenox, then a youth of nearly twenty, of a serious and quiet disposition, but amiable, good-looking, and accomplished, seems at once to have won golden opinions from the Spanish Court, and was made a Grandee of Spain two

* *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. cxcvii., No. 65.

† *Ibid.*, vol. cxcviii., No. 29.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. cxc., No. 63.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxi., No. 45.

days after his arrival; the Spaniards, we are told, "had a great opinion of him."*

A grant of £1000 was made to the Duke from the Exchequer in May, 1632, as "on foreign service;"† but he would seem to have returned to England to be present at the marriage of his youngest sister, Lady Frances Stuart, in June, to Jerome Weston, eldest son of the Lord Treasurer Weston.‡ The King gave Lady Frances a marriage portion of £6000,§ such as he had previously given to her sister, Lady Angus, and the marriage ceremony was performed at Roehampton by Laud, in the presence of both the King and Queen.||

Jerome Weston was sent in July, 1632, as Lord High Ambassador to the Court of Savoy, and the Duke of Lenox appears to have accompanied him thither. Mr. Pory wrote to Lord Brooke on the 22d of October: "There is now a great present of horses and rich saddles to be sent to the Duke of Savoy, where my Lord Ambassador Weston now resideth, and where his brother-in-law, the Duke of Lenox, is to marry the Duke's sister."¶ What prevented this alliance we do not hear; but the Duke and Jerome, now Lord Weston, returned to England in March 1633, having passed some time in Paris, where Weston was entrusted with a special mission to the King. Richelieu and Portland were at this time close allies, being united by a common

* *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. ccxlv., No. 1.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxvi., No. 19.

‡ Richard Lord Weston, who was created Earl of Portland in 1632.

§ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. ccxvi., No. 101.

|| *Ibid.*, vol. ccxviii., No. 27.

¶ *Court and Times*, Charles I, vol. ii., p. 186.

danger, to resist the intrigues of Henrietta Maria and her party against their influence and authority. Travelling to Calais, Lenox and Weston had met a courier, from the Queen, with letters to a French minister. These letters Weston seized, and brought back to England. The Queen was much offended, and most of the Court, we are told, looked coldly on Weston, who was challenged by Lord Holland. Lenox at once came forward boldly to defend his brother-in-law; and although the letters, when examined by the King, were found not to relate to any intrigues against either Richelieu or Portland, being merely to intercede for Chateauneuf and De Jars, who had been thrown into prison by the Cardinal (partly in consequence of the revelations that Weston had made while at Paris of plots made by them and the Queen against Richelieu*), still the King decided that Weston had not exceeded his duty as Ambassador, and ordered the matter to be allowed to drop.†

It appears from the curious examination taken down by Secretary Windebanke, in August, 1633, of a certain John Arismendy, that a great effort had been made in the Duke's absence, during the preceding winter, to arrange a marriage for him with some French lady of rank and distinction; the object being to strengthen the French party in England, and "to prevent the Spaniards getting hold of him." It was thought that some Scottish gentleman might be introduced into his suite, who should suggest that he could not do better, nor establish his fortune more honourably, than by imitating those of his ancestors who had

* *Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*, 1ère serie, vol. iv., p. 433.

† Gardiner's *Personal Government of Charles I*, vol. i, p. 264.

formed alliances in France. The plan seems to have been approved of by Cardinal Richelieu and Mademoiselle de Bourbon, daughter of the Prince of Condé; Mademoiselle de St. Paul and Mademoiselle de Rohan were suggested as suitable matches for the Duke. Madame d'Entragues had, it appeared, gone so far as to send to England to treat with the Duchess about a marriage with Mademoiselle de Rohan; but the idea does not seem to have been seriously entertained by the Duke's friends.*

On the 6th of April, 1633, the Duke attained his majority, and henceforth took his place as one of the most brilliant and accomplished courtiers of the day. From his position, as First Gentleman of the Bedchamber, he was now constantly in close attendance on the King. He went with him to Scotland in May, and was present at the coronation which took place on the 18th of June, 1633. He was sworn a Privy Councillor, at Greenwich, on the Sunday after the King's return from Scotland (July 28th).†

Katherine Duchess of Lenox was married some time during 1633 to James second Earl of Abercorn, and she afterwards chiefly resided in Scotland, being allowed to retain her rank and precedence as Duchess of Lenox. She seems to have been a good and careful mother, and to have looked well after her son's interest during his minority. Many of her letters to Secretary Conway bear witness to this. We find her, for instance, at one time opposing the grant of a charter of incorporation to the town of Gravesend, from some idea of its being prejudicial to the Duke's property at that

* *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. ccxlv., No. 135, and vol. ccix., No. 54.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ccxliv., No. 53.

place. The charter was eventually granted in the year 1632, and James Duke of Lenox, who is here described as Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews, in addition to his other titles, was appointed the first Hereditary High Steward of the Borough,* an office which has been held ever since by the owners of Cobham Hall.†

At another time we find her giving £100, and promising to get her son to do as much, to help George Herbert, who was prebendary of Leighton Bromswold, in rebuilding the church at that place, which was in such a ruined state, "that the vicar and parish were fain to use my Lord Duke's great hall for their prayer and preaching." George Herbert was able to restore the church completely, except the rebuilding of the tower, which Ferrar tells us, "the most noble, religious, worthy good Duke of Lenox did afterwards perform at his own proper cost and charges."‡

We now for the first time hear of the Duke's active secretary, Thomas Webb, whose zeal and energy in the care of his master's interests often brought him into odium with other people, and even ultimately with the King himself. Webb at first occupied himself in procuring a grant of land for the Duke in Ireland, and Wentworth, then Lord Deputy, wrote to Lord Cotting-

* The Corporation of Gravesend and Milton wished "to beare some similitude of the Duke of Lenox his armes and badges," and we find that Le Neve accordingly granted to them in December, 1635, as their arms:—Argent, a tower Gules, charged with a buffaloe's head Sable, springing out of a ducal coronet Or, within a bordure Azure, charged with five fleurs-de-lis and as many oval buckles alternately, Or. (For the Duke of Lenox's arms as borne by him, see note on the two next pages.)

† Pocock's *History of Gravesend*, p. 194.

‡ Mayor's *Nicholas Ferrar*, pp. 49, 86.

ton in November, 1633, to complain that Webb had "gone so far as to treat with Sir William Parsons for the whole plantation of Connaught, and doubts not but to carry it entire for the Duke with his Majesty." "I write not this," says Wentworth, "in opposition to the Duke, for in faith I honour him very much; but 'tis fit his Majesty and my Lord Treasurer know thus much . . . and in my opinion care should be had that Webb do not possess the Duke too far, for I take him to be a very nimble young gentleman, and one, if I mistake not, that will notably work his own Ends out of the Duke." The King, however, seems to have been willing to favour the Duke as much as possible, and we find Wentworth writing some months later to tell him that the King had written under his own hand "such a recommendation of your Lordship's affairs here, in so noble and gracious a way, as I judge it becoming the duty I owe to your Lordship to bring the knowledge of it to you."* Several other letters passed between Wentworth and Lenox during the next few years, in which the latter always signs himself "Your lordship's most affectionate and humble servant, J. Lenos," which appears to have been the signature adopted by him, and is thus explained in a letter from Lord Conway to Wentworth—"The Duke of Lenox as it is written in Scotch, or Lenos as he writes, that it may the more gently terminate, in Spanish."†

The Duke was made a Knight of the Garter‡ in

* *Strafford Letters*, vol. i., pp. 15, 252.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p, 47.

‡ The Duke's Garter plate still remains in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, though somewhat faded and the colours decayed in some places. The inscription is—"Du tres haut, tres puissant et tres

the autumn of 1633. Du Chesne gives an account of the ceremonies observed at his installation, which took place on November 6, 1633, at the same time when the Prince Palatine Charles was installed by proxy.*

At the Duke of York's christening, on the 24th of November, 1633, the Duke of Lenox supported the Countess of Kent, who carried the royal infant. His future wife, Lady Mary Villiers, then eleven years of age, carried the train of the Marchioness of Hamilton, who represented the Queen of Bohemia, godmother to the little Prince.†

The Duke had again occasion, in the spring of 1634, to shew that constancy and faithfulness to friends in adversity which marked his future life. The Lord Treasurer Portland was then attacked on all sides, and was almost without a friend. Illness prevented his going to Court to defend himself, but

noble prince, Jacques Stewart, duc de Lenox, comte de Marche et Darnley, baron de Leyghton Bromswould, Torbolton et Methven, grand chambellan et admiral d'Escosse, gentilhomme de la chambre du lict de sa majesté, du conseil privé de la Grand Bretagne et chevalier du tres noble ordre de la jartier, enstallé a Windesore le 6 jour de Novembre Anno Dom. 1633."

The arms are :—Quarterly, 1st and 4th quarterly, 1st and 4th Az., three fleurs-de-lis Or within a bordure Gu. semée of buckles Or (Aubigny), 2nd and 3rd Or, a fesse checquy Az. and Arg. within a bordure engrailed Gu. (Stuart). Over all in an escutcheon, Arg., a saltire engrailed between four roses Gu. (Lenox), 2nd and 3rd quarterly, 1st and 4th Sa., semée of cinquefoils a lion rampant Arg. (Clifton), 2nd and 3rd Az. three cinquefoils Arg. (D'Arcy). Crest out of a ducal coronet Or, a bull's head Sa., from the mouth proceeding flames pp^r^. Over the crest, AVANT DARNLEY (the old war-cry of the Stuarts in France). Supporters two wolves pp^r^.

* Du Chesne, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, p. 1229.

† *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. ccli., No. 23.

Lenox came forward to take his part, and succeeded in setting him right with the King, chiefly by the influence of Buckingham's widow, whom he persuaded to come to Court for the first time since her husband's death, to intercede for Portland with the King.*

Charles, whose passion for the chase is well known, took the Duke this summer to hunt with him in Sherwood Forest, and no doubt found his young cousin a very congenial companion, as Lloyd tells us of him that "hunting was both his pleasure and accomplishment."† A letter among the Phelips MSS., dated August 2, 1634, describes some of their adventures. "The King had a dangerous fall hunting in the Forest of Sherwood, his horse drawing him after him by one of his legs, but is now, thanks be to God, past any danger; the Duke of Lenox had such another fall, as that his recovery is yet doubtful."‡ No serious consequence, however, resulted, for the Duke wrote, on the 8th of August, from Nottingham to Secretary Windebanke on some other business, and made no allusion to these accidents.§

During the next few years the Duke of Lenox's name appears constantly as present at the sittings of the Privy Council. We find him in October, 1634, signing the now famous order for levying ship money, and on November 3 we notice that he was at the Council which ordered the Communion Table in St. Gregory's Church, near St. Paul's, to be replaced "altar-wise" at the upper end.‖

* Gardiner's *Personal Government of Charles I*, vol. ii., p. 65.
† Lloyd's *Memoirs*, p. 334.
‡ *Historical MSS. Commission*, Third Report, p. 283.
§ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. cclxxiii., No. 21.
‖ Rushworth, part ii., p. 264.

The Duke also often sat in the Star Chamber, and although he was the friend of Strafford and Laud, he always "advised moderation."* We find him once helping by his vote in preventing a cruel sentence of whipping being added to the fine of £5000, imposed upon a certain Alice Maxwell, who with her husband had sent a disrespectful letter to the Lord Keeper.†

The Duke found time, notwithstanding his attendance at Court, to carry out many improvements on his Kentish property. When he began to build at Cobham Hall is uncertain. Henry Lord Cobham at the time of his forfeiture in 1603 was still engaged in carrying out the rebuilding of the house which had been commenced by his father, William Lord Cobham. The two wings of the house, as now existing, had been completed and the great staircase added, but we have no evidence to determine what the original centre of the house was, or what were Lord Cobham's plans for rebuilding it. Nothing appears to have been done in Lady Kildare's time, but the Duke of Lenox, probably soon after he came of age, called in Inigo Jones, the fashionable architect of the time, to prepare plans for a new west front or centre. Inigo Jones adopted the classic style of his other works, and seems to have thought little of harmonizing the new building with the Tudor wings already built.

As we find that the Duke received, in the year 1635, a large sum of money (£22,000) for surrendering the Priory of St. Andrews to the Crown,‡ it is very possible that he may have employed some of this money in building at Cobham. The civil wars seem to have

* Lloyd's *Memoirs*, p. 334.

† *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. cclxxxvi., No. 103.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxciv., No. 5.

interrupted the completion of Inigo Jones's plans, and the west *façade* of the house would not appear to have been finished till 1662, in the time of Charles, the last Duke of Lenox and Richmond of the Stuart line.*

We learn from an old paper preserved at Cobham Hall that the Duke spent £7500 in the years 1636, 1637, and 1638 in purchasing lands adjacent to the park, in the parishes of Cobham, Strood, and Cuxton, much of which he enclosed and added to the park. An old map or plan made in 1641 shews "The perambulation of the newe parke." This plan, and a survey made by order of the State in 1649, shew that, in Cuxton parish alone, the Duke had enclosed 350 acres in this new park. The enclosure, if finished, was soon abandoned, for another plan made in 1718 shews that Cobham Park was then much the same size as at present, and Hasted states that in 1770 only 80 acres belonging to Cuxton parish then remained enclosed in the park.†

Some incidents of the Duke's life at Court during these years may be gleaned from the Rev. Mr. Garrard's gossipping letters to the Lord Deputy Wentworth. In January, 1635-6, he writes:—"A little Pique happened betwixt the Duke of Lenox and the Lord Chamberlain (Pembroke) about a box at a new Play in the Blackfryars, of which the Duke had got the key. . . . His Majesty hearing of it sent the Earl of Holland to command them not to dispute it but before him; so he heard it, and made them friends."‡

At another time the King employed the Duke to persuade the Earl of Bedford to agree to his son Lord

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XI., p. 71.

† Hasted, vol. i., p. 488.

‡ *Strafford Letters*, vol. i., p. 511.

Russell's marrying Lady Anne Carr, daughter of the too notorious Frances, Countess of Somerset. Bedford had told his son that he might choose a wife "in any family but in that," and refused his consent. But as Garrard observes, "Marriages are made in Heaven," and as the young people had been long attached to each other, and Lady Anne being as distinguished for her goodness and virtues as her mother had been for the reverse, Lenox was able to induce the unwilling father to grant the royal request, and the marriage was allowed to take place.*

George Lord D'Aubigny was selected in March, 1636, to accompany the Earl of Arundel, who was sent on an embassy to the Emperor Ferdinand.† They stopped at Nuremberg, on their way, where Arundel bought a library,‡ but D'Aubigny seems not to have proceeded further. He is recorded to have done homage to King Louis XIII for the lands of Aubigny on the 5th of August, 1636, at Paris.§

The Duke often wrote to Sir Francis Windebanke, whom he always addressed as "My noble protector." In one letter from Rufford in August, 1636, he tells him that he had made the King acquainted with the rumour that he (the Secretary) was in disgrace about "the business of ship-money." The King was much astonished, and told Lenox that Windebanke had nothing more to do with it than "writing instructions from him." ‖ Another time, in a letter from Hampton Court, the Duke recommends to Windebanke from

* *Strafford Letters*, vol. ii., p. 2.
† *Verney Papers*, p. 170.
‡ Collins's *Peerage*, vol. i., p. 115.
§ Andrew Stuart's *History of the Stewarts*, p. 273.
‖ *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. i., p. 610.

the King "this man of fate Wallace," and directs the Secretary to listen patiently to him.*

The Duke's marriage had often been talked of, and besides the foreign alliances already mentioned, the heiress of the House of Desmond† and the eldest daughter of the Earl of Suffolk,‡ had been suggested as suitable matches for him, but still at the age of twenty-five he remained unmarried. He would seem, indeed, to have cherished the idea of allying himself with some royal or princely House, and even to have aspired to marry one of the daughters of the Queen of Bohemia.§ It was therefore some strain on his duty and affection when King Charles proposed to him to marry Lady Mary Herbert, only daughter of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham,‖ who had been married when a child (as we find from Laud's Diary), on January 8, 1634-5, to Charles Lord Herbert (eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke), who died a year afterwards of small-pox at Florence. Lady Mary, who was born in March, 1622, was god-daughter to King James, who often spoke of her in his letters as his grandchild. In one letter to "his sweete boyes" (Babie Charles and Steenie) he writes, "My lytle grandchylde with her

* *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. i., p. 697.

† *Court and Times of Charles I*, vol. i., p. 495.

‡ *Strafford Letters*, vol. i., p. 167.

§ Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 11.

‖ We find, curiously enough, that the Duke of Buckingham had also some idea of marrying his daughter Lady Mary to one of the Prince Palatines, and one of the reasons assigned by Pedro Maestro to King James for Buckingham's having suddenly become opposed to the Spanish marriage for the Prince of Wales, was that just at that time he received a letter from the Queen of Bohemia holding out hopes of this alliance with one of her sons.—*Domestic State Papers*, James I, vol. clxiv., No. 8.

fowre teeth is, God be thanked, well wained." * Lady Mary after the death of her husband went by the King's desire to live with Lady Roxburgh, and was brought up with the Princesses.†

Baillie writes thus to Mr. Spang about the Duke's intended marriage in January, 1636-7:—"The King cannot get his (the Duke's) minde to it, how facile soever for all her infinite portion. We had hopes he might have obtained one of the Palatine's sisters. Poor prince, God helpe him, Buckingham his friends has drawen him down from high hopes."‡

The Duke himself, long after this, explained to Hyde, speaking in the King's presence, how "he had been brought up from his childhood by the Crown, and had always paid it the obedience of a child, and that he took a wife with the approbation and advice of the Crown." § Accordingly he seems to have thought it his duty to waive any objections he had at first felt to this marriage, and even before the date of Baillie's letter, Conway, in a letter to Wentworth, dated January 4, 1636-7, after telling him how many people at Court, including the Queen, were just then dissatisfied, writes, "Only the Duke of Lenox and my Lady Mary are well pleased, for they are to marry together, and the Duchess (Buckingham) is now sent for to the Court." When, however, the Duchess tried to bring Lady Mary with her into the Queen's bedchamber, the Queen, whose ill-humour still continued, perhaps because her plans for a French marriage for the Duke were defeated, would not receive her there, and "looked her out." ‖

* Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, vol. iii., p. 842.

† *Strafford Letters*, vol. i., p. 524.

‡ Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 11.

§ Clarendon's *Life*, p. 93.

‖ *Strafford Letters*, pp. 45-47.

The Duke of Lenox now entertained the Duchess of Buckingham, the Earl of Antrim her second husband, and Lady Mary for ten days at "Castlebar by Acton," and it was arranged that the marriage should take place at Easter;* but it was for some unexplained reason postponed till the summer. Possibly difficulties arose about Lady Mary's jointure of £4000 a year charged on the Pembroke estates. According to the Duke's marriage settlement, the matter was eventually arranged by his receiving Lady Mary's original fortune of £25,000, and by his settling on her another jointure of £4000 charged on his Cobham estates.†

Archbishop Laud performed the marriage ceremony, and records it in the same diary in which he had entered Lady Mary's first short-lived marriage:—

"August 3, 1637. I married James Duke of Lenox, to the Lady Mary Villers sole daughter to the Duke of Buckingham the marriage was in my Chapel at Lambeth, the day very Rainy, the King present."‡

A news letter tells us that the King "gave the lady to the Duke, but the Court and company were not very great, because that time and place had not been pitched upon till very shortly before."§ Another account written by Nicholas Hermann to the Earl of Middlesex says:—

"On Tuesday last the nuptials of the Duke with the maiden widow were solemnized at Lambeth honoured with the presence of the King and Queen and of the Royal issue, the wedding dinner was at York house, where they say were more cooks than guests, 60 cooks and not 6 Lords, not the Lord Archbishop (who married them) nor the Lord Chamberlain Pembroke."||

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* *Historical MSS. Commission*, Fourth Report, p. 293.

† MS. at Cobham Hall. ‡ Laud's *Troubles and Tryall*, p. 54.

§ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. cccliv., No. 25.

|| *Historical MSS. Commission*, Fourth Report, p. 293.

One of the guests was Henry Percy, who became Lord Percy, whom the Duke afterwards describes as "his old acquaintance at school in our travels, and here at home having lived friends together."* He appears to have attended the marriage with his sister, Lucy Countess of Carlisle, and he finishes a letter to the Earl of Leicester, written on August 3, by saying, "We are now in haste going to my Lord Duke's marriage, which you know I am much concerned in."† Frances Duchess of Richmond presented her nephew the Duke, on this occasion, with £5000 "in a white satten purse," and also gave the Duchess "a great necklace of pearl and a pearl chain,"‡ valued at £5000. The Duke took his Duchess to Court two days after the marriage, and she was sworn of the Queen's bedchamber.§

In September, 1637, the Duke was hastily summoned to Scotland by the news of the death of his mother, Katherine Dowager Duchess of Lenox. She was buried on the 17th of September, in the night, "without ceremonie," as her husband was much in debt, owing chiefly "to her princely carriage." "My Lord Duke of Lenox," says Baillie, "coming down post to his mother's buriall, was entrusted with a letter from the King to the council." He found the country violently agitated by the fatal order compelling the use of the Liturgy, and was implored by the Council to present their "supplication" against its use to the King. Lenox could not fail to be impressed by the gravity of the situation, for by the

* *Lords' Journals*, vol. iv., p. 556.

† *Sidney Letters*, p. 509.

‡ *Strafford Letters*, vol. ii., p. 114.

§ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. ccclxiv., No. 25.

20th of September, "24 noblemen, a number of barons, near a hundreth ministers, many townes, commissioners from 66 parishes," had signed the supplication, "altogether appearing in the street, at the Counsell-house doore, and everywhere in the eye of my Lord Duke of Lenox." He seems to have sympathized with his countrymen, and assured the Council that the King was "much misinformed about the nature of the business, and promised to do all he could for them." After leaving Edinburgh the Duke was entertained magnificently in the Town-house of Glasgow, and having "subscryved in the bishop's presence an ancient band of his house to maintain that good towne under the King against all whomsoever to his power,"* he returned to England laden with petitions against the Prayer Book.

He appears to have strongly urged the King to consider the wishes of his Scotch subjects, and Lord Napier† (in the defence of his own conduct, written in prison), alluding to this time, speaks of the Duke as follows:—

"The Duke of Lenox, a nobleman sound in the Protestant religion and in his affection to his Majesty and to his country, who in the beginning of these troubles did give his Majesty good and wholesome counsel, and not being followed, never to this hour spoke or did anything to the prejudice of the cause or country."‡

King Charles, however, failed to appreciate the gravity of the occasion, and preferred to follow the more violent counsels of his other advisers, who wished to put down the Scotch resistance by force. The Duke's opinion however seems to have remained

* Baillie's' *Letters*, vol. i., p. 17.

† Archibald, first Lord Napier, died 1645.

‡ *Montrose and the Cavaliers*, vol. ii., p. 40.

unchanged, as we find from a celebrated and energetic speech delivered by him before the King in Council some months later.* It is true that Windebanke has endorsed one copy of this speech, "The Duke of Lenox his supposed words;"† but if not actually spoken by him, it no doubt gives the sentiments then avowed by him. In it he speaks strongly against a war "with the King's own subjects and countrymen," and points out that the wisest Kings, like Henry VIII of England and Louis XI of France, had always been ready "to yield even to the unjust demands of their subjects rather than hazard war."

It had been well for Charles had he listened to this honest advice, for Lenox was too loyal a subject to persist long in opposition to his royal master, and was besides, as Clarendon tells us, "although a man of very good parts and an excellent understanding, so diffident of himself that he was sometimes led by men who judged much worse."‡ "He was little understood," says Lloyd,§ "and this too great diffidence and a certain haughtiness," as Larrey calls it, "in point of honour, in spite of his wit, his courage, and his affection to the King, prevented him being of much use to the King who loved him."‖

It must have been in the years following his marriage that Van Dyck painted the numerous portraits still existing of the Duke and Duchess. Perhaps one of his best portraits of the Duke is the full-length belonging to Lord Methuen, exhibited at Burlington

* *Historical MSS. Commission*, Fourth Report, p. 22.
† *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. cccxcv., No. 56.
‡ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii., p. 296.
§ Lloyd's *Memoirs*, p. 334.
‖ Larrey's *Charles I*, vol. ii., p. 66.

House in 1877; but a similar picture with a few variations is at Cobham Hall. The Duke is therein represented as a young man, of middle stature, with long, fair hair and blue eyes. His expression is serious and gentle, and he looks scarcely fitted to battle with the stormy times in which his lot was cast. He is dressed in a handsome suit of black silk, with a deep lace collar, and wears the Garter. One hand rests on the head of a large dog, which tradition says saved his life during his travels, by waking him when attacked by robbers.* The Duchess, although not gifted with all the great beauty of her father, is yet always painted by Van Dyck as a handsome woman, with dark eyes and hair; but her features seem cast in a sterner mould than those of her husband.

The Duke of Lenox appears to have been made Keeper of Richmond House and Park, and to have been granted the site of the late Monastery of Sheen,† about February, 1637-8.‡ Soon after this his sister Lady Maltravers "was declared a Papist," and his brother George Lord D'Aubigny secretly married about May, 1638, Lady Katherine Howard daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, who also changed her religion for his sake.§ The Duke, who was sincerely attached to the Church of England, and "well skilled in all its points,"‖ must have been much annoyed at these

* Other portraits of the Duke, also by Van Dyck, are in the collections of the Duke of Buccleuch, Marquis of Bristol, Earls of Pembroke, Denbigh, Westmoreland, Carlisle, Dysart, Ashburnham, Clarendon, Craven, Verulam, and Leicester, Lord de l'Isle, and at the Louvre.

† *Commons' Journals*, vol. iv., p. 683.

‡ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. cccxxxii., No. 23.

§ *Strafford Letters*, vol. ii., p. 165.

‖ Lloyd's *Memoirs*, p. 384.

events. We are told that he brought up his young brothers Lord John and Lord Bernard as "very good Protestants," and they would appear to have been not only distinguished by their learning, but also by every manly virtue and accomplishment.* They were sent abroad by the Duke in January, 1638-9, to complete their education, as he had done himself, by travelling in foreign parts.†

When the King went northward against the Scots, in March, 1639, he took the Duke of Lenox with him in his coach. They started on the 27th, arrived at York on the 30th of March, and proceeded in May to Newcastle.‡ The Duke appears to have gone up to London on some business on April 23rd, but had returned to the King by May 23rd, when he took part in a conversation between the King and Sir Thomas Wilford, who reproached Charles with not calling a Parliament, on which the King angrily told him "there were fools in the last Parliament;" Sir Thomas said, "there were wise men as well, and would be again." The Duke probably thinking the conversation was growing too hot, stepped up and said, "How can you have a Parliament, the King being absent?" Sir Thomas on this rudely replied that they "would do well enough without him."§

The King made a grant to the Duke in May of an estate at Sutton Marsh in Lincolnshire, lately enclosed from the fens, but it was by no means a free gift, for the grant states that it was given "in consideration of £7,500 due by his Ma'tie to the Duke of

* Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i., p. 369.

† *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. cccx., No. 81.

‡ Rushworth, part ii., p. 921.

§ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. ccccxxii., No. 65.

Lenox."* It never could have been a very profitable possession, as the Duke became almost at once involved in litigation respecting it, which lasted for many years.

The royal party left the "camp at the Birks" on the 22nd of June, and taking post at Berwick on the 28th of July, arrived at Theobalds, having "rid 260 miles in four days."†

When the King called on his friends in this autumn to assist him with loans of money, Lenox at once came forward and offered £20,000. Sir Philip Warwick having made some remark to him that Hamilton and others holding more lucrative posts had excused themselves, the Duke smilingly replied, "I would serve the King in his person though I carry but his cloak, as well and as cheerfully as any in the greatest trust."‡ The Duke increased this loan in January, 1639-40, to £30,000,§ but it was arranged that £10,000 should be repaid at Michaelmas.‖

A dispute had arisen between the Duke and the Company of Merchant Adventurers, who farmed his Grace's patent for the alnage duties on white cloths; as they declared they could no longer pay £2,600 per annum for this privilege, and petitioned the King to reduce the sum paid to £2000.¶ Charles however took the Duke's part, although he would not allow the

* *Signet Office Docquet Book*, May, 1639.

† Rushworth, part ii., p. 949.

‡ Duncan Stewart's *History of the Royal Family*, p. 157.

§ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. ccccxlv., No. 39.

‖ The remaining £20,000 was honestly repaid by King Charles II in 1662.—*Domestic State Papers*, Charles II, vol. liii., No. 58.

¶ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. ccccxxxviii., No. 55, and vol. ccccxli., No. 121.

Duke's officers in April, 1640, to stop all the ships laden with white cloths, as they attempted to do, but ordered the matter to be decided in the Exchequer Court.* Probably some arrangement for a compromise was made, as no more mention occurs of the affair. In another dispute with the felt makers, the King wrote to Bishop Juxon to direct that the case should be heard without delay, and that the Court of Exchequer was to shew "the alnager all lawful favour."†

The office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports became vacant by the death of the Earl of Suffolk, and was given, in June, 1640, to the Duke of Lenox, an appointment which gave "little satisfaction,"‡ according to a letter from the Earl of Northumberland to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Leicester. The Duke was also jointly with Jerome, Earl of Portland, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Hants.§

The King had assembled the Peers in a great council at York this summer, to assist him in raising money to resist the Scotch army which had invaded England; but Lenox and the other Peers most devoted to the King could only recommend him to patch up a peace with the Scotch, and to summon another Parliament, known as "The Long Parliament," which met on the 3rd of November, 1640. The Duke of Lenox, sitting as Earl of March, seems to have been present at nearly all the debates of the next few months.‖ It must have been a sad winter for him, as he saw his friends Strafford and Laud impeached and imprisoned, and

* *Domestic State Papers*, April, 1640 (uncalendared).

† *Ibid.*, Charles I, ccccix., No. 186.

‡ *Sidney Letters*, p. 665.

§ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. ccccxxii., No. 101.

‖ *Lords' Journals*, vol. iv.

Finch and Windebanke obliged to fly the country to escape a like fate.

Principal Baillie, in his graphic description of Strafford's trial, mentions the Duke of Lenox as present, "sitting among the late Earls," and remarks that there were then no Dukes in the English Parliament, as Buckingham was still a boy.* Although present the Duke took an unwilling part in these proceedings, and we are told "vehemently opposed the condemnation and attainder of Strafford." †

In July it was determined to send the Queen Mother, Marie de Medicis, out of England, where her three years' residence had been very unpopular, and had, May says, cost the country £100 a day for her maintenance.‡ The Earl and Countess of Arundel were directed to escort her abroad, and it was arranged that she should sleep at Cobham Hall on her way to Dover. Sir Edward Nicholas instructed Sir John Pennington to take her across to Holland in the "Bonaventura," and tells him

"The Queene Mother goes Munday night to Cobham in Kent to remayne there until the wind shall serve for her Maties transportation to Holland. The King and Queene will accompany the Queen Mother to Cobham."§

Marie de Medicis was then in very bad health, and her state of weakness so great that her journey was postponed from day to day, and she did not pay her promised visit to Cobham till the 13th of August, 1641, when she could only have been received by the Duchess, as the Duke had gone to Scotland with the

* Baillie's *Letters* vol. i., p. 314.

† Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i., p. 638.

‡ *Tracts on the Civil Wars*, vol. i., p. 31.

§ *Domestic State Papers*, 1641 (uncalendared).

King. Whether Queen Henrietta Maria accompanied her mother to Cobham we are not told, but Lord Arundel reported that the Queen Mother arrived at her next sleeping-place, Sittingbourne, on the 15th; she did not however embark from Dover before the 31st of August.*

Before the King started for Scotland he created the Duke of Lenox Duke of Richmond in the Peerage of England, probably as a compliment to his northern subjects; the fees paid by the Duke on this occasion to the King's servants amounted to £272.† The Duke took his seat under his new title in the House of Lords on Monday, August 9, the same day on which he started for Scotland, travelling in the King's own coach.‡ From Sidney Bere's interesting letters to Sir John Pennington, and from Baillie's Journal, we learn how the unfortunate Charles in vain endeavoured to conciliate his Scottish subjects, by listening to long sermons inflicted on him by the Presbyterian divines, and by allowing a Presbyterian minister to replace his own domestic chaplains. The King also went to the Parliament House every day, although they rudely refused to allow the Duke of Lenox to sit till he had sworn and signed "the covenant band and oath." The Duke seems to have acted on this visit to Scotland as Secretary of State, and the King wrote more than once to Sir Edward Nicholas, directing that all the royal correspondence should pass through his hands.§

The King, not being able to grant all the demands now made upon him by the Scotch, was supposed by

* *Domestic State Papers*, 1641 (uncalendared).

† *Ibid.*

‡ Nalson's *State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 436.

§ Evelyn's *Memoirs*, vol. iv., pp. 80, 87-92.

them to be under the evil influence of the Duke of Richmond (as he was now called) and William Murray, who, Baillie says, "were thought at that tyme to guide the Court much at their pleasure."*

The King returned from Scotland late in November, accompanied by the Duke of Richmond, and made a triumphant entry into London, being received by the Lord Mayor in state in Moorgate Fields. The Prince Palatine and the Duchess of Richmond were, on this occasion, in the royal coach, sitting opposite the King and Queen.†

The office of Lord Steward of the Household had become vacant, by the resignation of the Earl of Arundel; and we find from Bere and Smith's letters to Sir John Pennington that the Duke was appointed Lord Steward early in December, 1641.‡

The Duke was now vigorously attacked in Parliament, being, according to Clarendon, almost the only man about the King who had not stooped or made court to the popular party, and they now determined to remove him from the King, and from his office of Warden of the Cinque Ports.§ He was accused of having interfered in the last election for a member for Hythe, and of having directed his steward, Adrian Scroope,‖ to protect Henry Percy, when he had incurred the displeasure of the Parliament. These charges having come to nothing, his enemies next fastened upon some words which he let drop in the House of

* Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i., p. 393.

† Rushworth, part iii., p. 429.

‡ *Domestic State Papers*, 1641 (uncalendared).

§ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i., p. 638.

‖ Adrian Scroope afterwards sat on the trial of Charles I, and was executed as a regicide on October 17th, 1660.

Lords, "that if the House was to adjourn, he wished it might be for six months."* The Duke explained that when he spoke he thought that the House was up, and that he meant nothing serious; but he was required to withdraw, and a long debate followed, Lord Saye and Sele warmly took his part, and at last the House of Lords determined to look over the offence, on condition of his apologising to the House. Several Lords protested against the leniency of this sentence; and next day a violent debate took place in the Commons on the subject, and though he was energetically defended by his friends,† the House resolved, by a majority of 223 to 123, "that the Duke of Richmond is one of the malignant party, and an ill counsellor to his Majesty."‡

When Queen Henrietta Maria, with the young Princess of Orange, went to Holland taking with her the Crown jewels, the King, attended by the Duke of Richmond, accompanied them as far as Dover. On their return they were met at Canterbury by Hyde, with a letter from the House of Commons, to which the King having returned a sharp answer, Hyde persuaded the Duke of Richmond to take him into the King's room while he was undressing, that he might endeavour to persuade him to send a more conciliatory message.§ The King, the Prince of Wales, Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Richmond now started for the north; they left Theobalds on the 3rd of March, and arrived at Huntingdon on the 14th.‖ Next morning

* *Lords' Journals*, vol. iv., pp. 549, 550.

† Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i., p. 639.

‡ *Commons' Journals*, vol. ii., p. 400.

§ Clarendon's *Life*, p. 54.

‖ Rushworth, part iii., p. 484.

the King paid a few hours' visit to the wonderful family of the late Nicholas Ferrar, at Little Gidding, who still kept up the religious observances and services instituted by him, and arranged their services so that the whole Psalter was repeated from beginning to end once in every day. When the King was shewn the chapel, not finding the images and a cross which were said to be there, he smiled and said to the Duke of Richmond, "I knew it full well that never any were in it, but what will not malice invent?" The Duke and Prince Rupert also smiled, and the Duke said, "Envy was quick sighted." The Duke, we are told, particularly admired a book of devotions which was being prepared by the Ferrars for the Prince of Wales. The King visited the almshouses established there for widows, and gave the Duke all the money he had in his purse (which happened to be five crowns won the night before from Prince Rupert at cards) to give to them. After taking leave of the Ferrars, the King is recorded to have seen a hare sitting, as he was riding away through the grounds, and called to the Duke "for his piece,"* which the Duke carried, "and shot it, to the great amusement of the Prince of Wales."

The Duke of Richmond is mentioned as having been with the King when he rode up to the gates of Hull, and summoned Sir John Hotham in vain to surrender the fortress.† Both the King and the Parliament now prepared for the impending struggle. The Duke at once summoned his three brothers to the royal standard. George Lord D'Aubigny, young, loyal, and enthusiastic, openly expressed his contempt

* Mayor's *Nicholas Ferrar*, p. 149.

† *Lords' Journals*, vol. v., p. 20.

for any man who could refuse to take up arms for the King, and joined him with a gallant band of 300 gentlemen. Lord John, who became a general of horse, and Lord Bernard, to whom was given the command of the King's own troop of guards, also joined him with numerous followers, and the three gallant brothers were all present at the battle of Edgehill, fought on October 23, 1642. Here the brave Lord Aubigny after receiving many wounds fell, and was carried by his brother Bernard to Abingdon, where he died, and was buried in Christ Church, Oxford.*

No time was lost by the Parliament in seizing the goods and property of the lords and gentlemen who had joined the King. The Duke of Richmond was especially exempted from all offers of pardon, his pensions, amounting to £3,400 a year, were stopped at the Court of Wards, his town house was ransacked, and the pictures and valuables sold.† It being reported to the House of Commons that there was a store of arms at Cobham, Colonel Sands proceeded there with two hundred troopers on the 20th of August, 1642. No resistance was made; "the lady through fear sent out word that the magazine should be given up." Five waggon loads of ammunition, and three Barbary horses valued at £200 each, were carried off.‡ Adrian Scroope, the Duke's steward, had received from him "express charge to take no steps to preserve his goods at Cobham," although there was a picture of his mother that Scroope told Sir Roger

* Lloyd's *Memoirs*, p. 321.

† *Commons' Journals*, vol. ii., p. 808; vol. iii., p. 369; vol. iv., p. 101.

‡ King's Pamphlets, No. lxxi., art. 10; No. lxxii., art. 33.

Twysden the Duke valued "above everything."* The Duke's estates were now all sequestered, and he must have been in straitened circumstances, although before this he had been a very wealthy man for those times. The Duke stated, when compounding for his estates, that his rental in England was £6,500,† and he was in possession of fee farm rents valued at £3,000 per annum.‡ To these must be added the Alnage duties which produced at least £2,000 a-year, and the emoluments from his offices of Lord Steward,§ Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Keeper of Richmond Park. Besides his English property, the Duke had large estates both in Ireland and Scotland, and the Feu duties of the Island of Islay, worth £500 a-year, had been granted to him in 1641.‖ Although he never actually resigned his office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, he had not been allowed to act for some time, but he was not formally superseded till 1645.¶

The Duke of Richmond followed the King's fortunes for the next few years, and accompanied him in all his journeys and adventures in the west of England. After the death of Falkland he took a more prominent part in affairs, and at one time,

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. II., p. 198.

† *Commons' Journals*, vol. v., p. 683.

‡ *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. ccclxxii., No. 186.

§ The emoluments of the Lord Steward's office were, in King Charles I's time, valued at about £3,000 a-year.—*Historical MSS. Commission*, Sixth Report, p. 724.

‖ The Feu duties of Islay were granted for a period of nineteen years at a time, but the grant was always renewed to the Duke's descendants till 1759, when John, third Earl of Darnley, failed to obtain a renewal of it from George II.—*Cobham MSS.*

¶ *Commons' Journals*, vol. iv., p. 111.

Sir Edward Walker tells us, presided over the Council of War, which met every day. He was with the King when he got secretly away from Oxford in June, 1644, and we find him, on October 9th, answering, on the King's behalf, a loyal address from the gentry of Somerset. He slept the next night at Bryanstone,* in the house of the heiress Elizabeth Rogers, who afterwards married his nephew, Charles Duke of Richmond.†

The Duke's home at Cobham was now entirely broken up, and the Duchess seems to have generally lived at Oxford, with the other ladies attached to the Court. She obtained permission, however, to leave Oxford on September 7, 1644, but was not to reside within twenty miles of London, nor to "expect any maintenance out of her lord's estate."‡

The Duke had to mourn the loss this year of another gallant brother, Lord John Stuart, "a young man of extraordinary hope,"§ who was wounded at the battle of Alresford, on March 29, 1644, and died five days after. He had performed prodigies of valour, and had two horses killed under him.‖ He was buried in Christ Church, at Oxford, near his brother, Lord D'Aubigny.¶

After a vain attempt, by Commissioners sent to Oxford from both the English and Scotch Parliaments, to negotiate a peace with the King, (the failure of which Baillie ascribes to the Queen's party, among

* Walker's *Historical Discourses*, pp. 14, 23, 100-104.

† *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XI., p. 253.

‡ *Lords' Journals*, vol. vi., p. 698.

§ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii., p. 710.

‖ Lloyd's *Memoirs*, p. 324.

¶ Sir William Dugdale's *Diary*, p. 64.

whom he reckons the Duke of Richmond,)* King Charles sent the Duke and the Earl of Southampton to London with his answer to the propositions made to him. Prince Rupert obtained a safe conduct for them from the Earl of Essex, and they arrived at Somerset House, which had been prepared for their reception, on the 14th of December, 1644,† and were allowed on the next day (Sunday) to have service performed according to the Liturgy, and Dr. Hammond preached before them. The King, we may suppose, had directed them to ascertain what friends to the Royal cause still remained in London, but Clarendon tells us, "few had the courage to visit them, only the Scotch Commissioners, as independent, made no scruple of visiting and being visited by them." Several friendly conferences took place in the Painted Chamber. Richmond and Southampton suggested that, instead of treating with the King himself, sober men should be chosen from each side to discuss a treaty, who might meet at some third place. This being agreed on by both parties, Webb was sent by the Duke to Oxford to obtain the King's consent. The Archbishop of Canterbury was now brought to trial, and the two lords were soon forced, by the ill feeling shewn to them, to leave London on December 24th.‡ The Duke was able to carry out his plan for a treaty between the King and the Parliament, and both English and Scotch Commissioners met the Royal Commissioners, over whom the Duke of Richmond presided, at Uxbridge on the 30th of January, 1644-5.§

* Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii., p. 244.

† *Lords' Journals*, vol. vii., pp. 93, 94.

‡ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii., p. 853.

§ Whitelocke's *Memoirs*, page 127.

Safe conducts had been exchanged for both parties by the Earl of Essex and Prince Rupert, and we find, from a list given by the latter of the one hundred and eight persons sent from Oxford, that the Duke had a suite of eighteen servants, including Drs. Ferne and Harvey as chaplains, Thomas Webb, three cooks, a coachman named "Tom," a postilion, two footmen, two grooms, and six others, whose duties are not specified.*

The town of Uxbridge was divided between the two parties, and each had "a great inn in which to eat." The Duke of Richmond, as Lord Steward, "kept his table for the King's Commissioners."† He and the more moderate of the Parliamentary side, like the Earl of Pembroke, did all they could to make the treaty a success, and the Duke was on the best possible terms with the Scotch Commissioners, among whom was his own cousin, Sir Charles Erskine; but he discovered too late that the King was not sincere, and that he did not intend to make those concessions which could alone have secured peace. His letter to Richmond, written at this time, afterwards captured at Naseby, shews this when he says, "I hope I need not remind you to cajole well the Independents and Scots."‡

After twenty weary days and nights of hard work and useless discussion, the conference broke up, without achieving any results, and Richmond returned to Oxford, much disappointed and dissatisfied with the King's conduct, which had frustrated his hopes of making an honourable peace. The King noticed the

* *Lords' Journals*, vol. vii., pp. 150, 151.

† Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii., p. 865.

‡ *King's Cabinet Opened*, p. 25.

change of his countenance, and spoke on the subject to Lord Clarendon, who had at this time been formally admitted by the Duke to his friendship. The Duke had called him into the Royal bedchamber, and then, in a long speech, formally asked the King's consent to their being friends. The King said next day to Clarendon, speaking of the Duke, that he thought "his man Webb gave him ill counsel," and he begged Clarendon to find out why the Duke had left off attending the meetings of the Council for Secret Affairs, which then sat at Oriel College. The Duke, Lord Clarendon tells us, "had all the warmth and passions of a subject, a servant, and a friend to the King," but he was "a man of high spirit, and valued his very fidelity at the rate it was worth." On being pressed, he said that he believed the King had lost confidence in him, and he complained that the King was "not kind to him," which he attributed to his having shewn the King a letter from Lucy Countess of Carlisle, with whom he had corresponded before the treaty of Uxbridge, in hopes of bringing about an arrangement. The King had seemed suspicious about his dealings with this lady and others of the Parliamentary party, and the Duke felt that, if mistrusted, he could no longer be fit to share in the King's secret counsels; he added that he found the King trusted others more than him, meaning, according to Clarendon, "the power and credit that John Ashburnham had with the King."

Clarendon says that he was able to persuade the Duke to attend the Council again, but that he refused to dismiss Webb, who had served him so faithfully for many years. He adds that he could not succeed entirely in "removing the cloudiness" from the

King's and the Duke's countenances, but that no diminution of the Duke's duty to the King could be observed, and that the King's "kindness to him continued with many gracious evidences to his death."*

Whatever may have been his opinions on political matters, the Duke declined to leave his attendance on the King's person when the Prince of Wales, of whose Council he was the head, went to hold his Court in the west of England,† and he remained with the King during the year 1645. The Duchess seems to have been indisposed in the month of May, and obtained leave to go to Hampton Court to consult Sir Theodore Mayherne, the great physician of the day.‡

Lord Bernard Stuart, who still commanded the King's Guards, was now created Earl of Litchfield, but before his patent could be signed he was killed at Rowton Heath. The King, who witnessed the engagement from the walls of Chester, was deeply grieved at his death, and we can well imagine the sorrow and despair of the Duke when he saw the last of the three gallant brothers whom he had brought up from their early boyhood with such tender care, fall a useless sacrifice in this bloody and fratricidal war. The Earl of Lichfield is described as having been "of a most gentle, courteous and affable nature, and of a spirit and courage invincible."§ The Duke carried his body to Oxford, and buried him in Christ Church, close by his two brave brothers.‖

* Clarendon's *Life*, p. 93.
† Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii., p. 930.
‡ *Commons' Journals*, vol. iv., p. 136.
§ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii., p. 1070.
‖ Sir William Dugdale's *Diary*, p. 84.

The Duke of Richmond had no heart for any more useless struggles against the overwhelming power which now ruled the country, and we are not surprised that in May, 1646, when the King left Oxford secretly, he, with the Earl of Lindsey, threw himself on the mercy of the Parliament. They addressed a joint letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax explaining their conduct. "After the departure of the King," they say, "we who have followed him in the relation of domestic servants would not remain in any place after him, to expose ourselves to doubtful construction with the Parliament," and finished by requesting to be allowed to go to London, or at least to their own homes. Fairfax enclosed this letter to the House of Lords, and expressed his opinion that no harm could be done by granting this request. The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod was nevertheless sent to take Richmond and Lindsey into custody, and they were detained prisoners at Windsor* till the capitulation of Oxford in June, when it was expressly stipulated that they should be included in the Articles of Surrender. They were in consequence set at liberty, and allowed to compound for their estates within six months, at a rate not exceeding two years' rental.†

The Duke and Duchess were thus once more able to live at Cobham Hall, and the Duke succeeded in compounding for his estates by paying a fine of £8,576, having been allowed to deduct from their yearly value the interest on the incumbrances (£40,000). He obtained in May, 1647, an order from the Commissioners for compounding with Delinquents to put him into possession of his "property in Kent, Middle-

* *Lords' Journals*, vol. viii., p. 291, 301, 313, 331, 335.

† Whitelock's *Memoirs*, p. 213.

sex, York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Hunts, Berks, Beds, North^{on}, Wilts, Worcester, Hants, South^{on}, Surrey, Essex, Norfolk, and Cambridge."* In August, 1648, he was formally pardoned by Parliament and his delinquency removed, half of his fine having then been paid.†

The Duke afterwards petitioned the House of Lords to remit the remainder of the fine, on account of the loss of his office of Warden of the Cinque Ports, which had not been considered when compounding for his estate, and the application would appear to have been favourably received.‡

Several letters to Sir Charles Erskine, written by the Duke and Duchess from Cobham, during the summer of 1647, are still preserved, and are on business connected with the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as to which the King had employed the Duke as his "intermediary."§ Clarendon also mentions him as being at Cobham in July, but says that he would soon join the King.‖ When Charles I was taken from Holmby to Hampton Court by the army, the Duke of Richmond requested, and obtained, leave from Fairfax to pay his respects to his royal master on the journey at Hatfield.¶ This conduct of Fairfax, in allowing the Duke to see the King, was much disapproved of by the Parliament, and the Duke, finding this, left the King after a few days, but joined him again in August at Hampton Court. Here he

* *Royalist Composition Papers.*

† *Commons' Journals*, vol. v., p. 683.

‡ *Lords' Journals*, vol. x., p. 521.

§ *Historical MSS. Commission*, Fourth Report, p. 523.

‖ *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. i., p. 383.

¶ *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix., p. 323.

with Hertford, Ormonde, and others, had hoped to be allowed to remain with the King, and to act as his Council, but the jealousy of the Parliament forced them again to leave. When the King escaped from Hampton Court he left behind him a letter to Colonel Whalley, in which he begged that a picture of the Princess of Orange might be sent to Lady D'Aubigny, and a favourite dog given to the Duke of Richmond.*

The Duke was often in London, and lived at this time in Wallingford House, Whitehall, belonging to his brother-in-law the Duke of Buckingham. Here, at midnight on February 27, 1647-8, the poor weak-minded Lord Cobham† came to take refuge from his wife. Webb, always keen for his master's interests, probably encouraged their dissensions, and the Duke allowed Lord Cobham to live nearly two years in his house hidden from his wife.‡ A letter of Cobham's to Webb proves that he had himself asked for a refuge there, but Webb contrived to persuade him, while living with the Duke, to sell Cliffe and Chalk and his other Kentish property to the Duke for about £14,000, a proceeding much commented on afterwards by Lady Cobham, in a Chancery suit which arose out of the matter.§

A rising took place in the spring of 1648 in Kent, and afterwards spread to Essex, but after the Duke's surrender to the Parliament, he always refused to engage in any plots,‖ and he would seem to have

* *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix., p. 520.

† John Brooke, of Heckington, created Lord Cobham 20 Charles I. He was a first cousin of the unfortunate Henry, last Lord Cobham.

‡ *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XI., p. 206.

§ *MS. Brief* at Cobham Hall.

‖ Calendar of the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii., No. 379.

remained quietly in London. The Duchess, however, had to mourn the death of her brother "the beautiful Francis Villiers," who was killed on the 9th of July in a skirmish near Kingston. The Duke of Buckingham, who had also joined the rising in favour of the King, managed to make his escape. The Duchess of Richmond obtained leave from Parliament on the 11th of July to write to her brother on this melancholy occasion.*

The Duke had early in July attempted to go to Cobham, but had been stopped at Lambeth, and his horses seized. He was able to procure an order from the House of Lords on the 7th of July to release his horses, and to allow him to pass to his house in Kent, and to reside there without molestation.†

One last and fruitless attempt at a treaty, between the King and the Parliament, was made in August 1648, at Newport in the Isle of Wight, and the King was allowed to have once more the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earls of Lindsey and Southampton to attend on him. When November came nothing had been settled, and it became evident that the army would not allow the Parliament to restore the King, on any terms. The Duke of Richmond had the melancholy satisfaction of being with the King during the last night he spent in the Isle of Wight, and Colonel Edward Cooke, by the Duke's orders, drew up a touching and interesting account of what passed, which was corrected by the Duke himself. It appears that, between seven and eight o'clock on the 29th of November, the King sent for the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsey,

* *Lords' Journals*, vol. x., p. 375.

† *Ibid.*, vol. x., 367.

and Colonel Cooke (who were all together at the Duke's lodgings in Newport) and acquainted them that he had been informed that the army were going again to seize on his person. A long discussion followed as to what should be done, and the Duke and Lord Lindsey urged him to attempt to escape immediately, and to prove that it was still feasible, the Duke put on a long cloak and was taken by Colonel Cooke, who had the password, past all the guards without any remark. The King having originally given his word not to escape during the time of the treaty, could not be brought to consent, and sent Lindsey and Cooke home to bed. The Duke of Richmond, who was in waiting, remained with the King, but felt so anxious that he would not undress. At break of day a knocking was heard, and Lieut.-Colonel Cobbit appeared and ordered the King to start with him at once. The Duke of Richmond was only allowed to go with him for about two miles, when he "sadly took leave of the King, being scarce permitted to kiss his hand," and never saw his royal master alive again. The Duke and the other Lords at once left the Isle of Wight, and went to Titchfield, the Earl of Southampton's house.*

Lady D'Aubigny, the Duke's sister-in-law, after her husband's death had devoted her wit and great talents to the King's service, and had once narrowly escaped being put to death by the Parliament, having been imprisoned and ordered to be brought to trial, when she fortunately made her escape. She had, during the war, married James Lord Newburgh,† and had since conducted succesfully the King's correspondence with

* Cooke's *Certain Passages at Newport in* 1648.

† Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iii., p. 375.

the Queen. The King was allowed to dine at Bagshot Lodge with Lord and Lady Newburgh, on his way to Windsor, December 23, 1648, and they arranged a plan for his escape on a fleet horse belonging to them. The scheme, however, was frustrated, partly by the vigilance of Colonel Harrison who commanded the King's escort, and partly from the horse having been accidentally lamed that very morning.

The Duke attempted to see his royal cousin after his condemnation to death, but Sir Thomas Herbert tells us that the King said, in a kind message "to the Prince Elector and the other lords who loved him," that he hoped they would not take it ill if he refused to see any one but his own children, and urged them instead to pray for him. Amongst the tokens of remembrance bestowed upon his children and friends, King Charles on the last sad morning of his life sent his gold watch to the Duchess of Richmond.*

Several historians relate that Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindsey now in vain offered their lives in exchange for that of the King, urging that as Privy Councillors they were more responsible than he was for any so-called treasonable acts.† They, however, were only allowed the melancholy satisfaction of attending his body to the grave, and the Duke of Richmond was entrusted with the superintendence of his funeral in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the 9th of February, 1648-9.‡ Herbert and Mildmay had conveyed the King's body thither the night before,

* Sir Thomas Herbert's *Charles I*, p. 118 (edition 1702).

† Echard, p. 718; Lloyd, p. 194; Collins's *Peerage*, vol. i., p. 165.

‡ *Proceedings of the House of Commons*, Die Jovis, 8 Feb. 1648. After stating that the house approved of Windsor as the place of burial of the late King, and allowing the Duke of Richmond,

and when the Duke of Richmond and the other lords arrived, the Duke is recorded to have caused the coffin to be opened to satisfy himself that it was indeed the corpse of his honoured and beloved master.* They found a place for the King in the same vault with Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, and buried him there in silence and tears, Colonel Whichcote, the stern and puritanical governor of Windsor Castle, having prevented Bishop Juxon from reading any funeral service over the Royal remains.

The Duke went home a broken-hearted man, and "never had his health or his spirits again."† "He pined away," says Lloyd, "in his house mourning for his Majesty's person, whom he would have died for,"‡ and never seems to have taken any further part in public affairs, nor even to have visited the exiled court at Breda.

One ray of light came to cheer these dark times, for the Duke and Duchess, who had been childless for twelve years, now rejoiced in the birth of a son, who was born in London in November, 1649, and was

Marquis of Hertford, Earl of Lindsey, Earl of Southampton, Dr. Juxon, and three servants each, to attend, the order proceeds, "Resolved. That it shall be left to the said Duke of Richmond to take order for the place of the King's burial to be in Windsor, either in Henry VIII his chapel or the choir, as they shall think fit, and that the circumstances and manner of the interment be wholly left to the Duke of Richmond, and that the said Committee do provide money for defraying the charge of the funeral not exceeding the sum of five hundred pounds." (*Commons' Journals*, vol. vi., p. 134).

* Sir Thomas Herbert's *Charles I*, p. 149, and England's *Black Tribunal*, 1720.

† Echard's *History of England*, p. 718.

‡ Lloyd's *Memoirs*, p. 236.

named Esmé after his grandfather. Lord Cobham, who was still living in the Duke's house, was one of his godfathers.* Another child, a daughter, was born in 1651, and baptized by the name of Mary at St. Martins in the Fields on the 10th of July. Thomas Webb, the Duke's faithful secretary and friend, died in October, 1649, and was buried in Cobham Church. From the inscription to his memory on a stone in the chancel we learn that he was aged forty-nine at the time of his death, and that he had married Elizabeth Woodhouse, who died during the siege of Oxford.

The Duke got into trouble in the year 1651 with the Committee of Sequestrations, apparently from having neglected to transfer the prebend of Leighton, worth about £200 per annum,† for the benefit of the ministers of the two parishes of that place, which he had agreed to do when compounding for his estates.‡ He was summoned several times before the Council of State, and it was seriously discussed whether he should be allowed to continue to reside at Cobham, but he was eventually permitted to return there, having on May 24th been "bailed on bond of £10,000, with sureties of £2,000 each, to appear when called upon." When he was next summoned he was too ill to appear, and wrote the following letter, the last we have from his hand, addressed to Lord Bradshaw, Lord President of the Council.§

My Lord

Vpon the occasion, now, of a second summons I must needs remember together, the civility I received in the first, and in

* *MS.* at Cobham.

† *Royalist Composition Papers*, G. 65, p. 496.

‡ *Commons' Journals*, vol. v., p. 683.

§ *Domestic State Papers*, October, 1651.

it. My present condition being not, at first, knowne, is, since, an occasion, to acknowledge more fauour. To which & your last orders, I shal pay my obseruance, with such respect as shal be answerable to all that in me lyes.

My Lord
Your Lo^ps most humble seruant
J. RICHMOND AND LENOS.

Cobham Hall
October 21, 1651
at night.

On reading this letter and seeing a certificate from Dr. Chaberry respecting the state of his health, the Council at once wrote to excuse the Duke's further attendance on them.*

On the 26th of December the Council of State summoned him to appear before them on another matter. Charles I had given Dumbarton Castle to the Duke of Richmond in 1641, and he had appointed Sir Charles Erskine as governor. The castle was now besieged by General Monk, and Sir Charles wished to make conditions before surrendering. The Duke seems to have come to London, but was then taken ill and unable to wait on the Council, who were obliged to send Lieut.-General Fleetwood, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Nevill, to ask the Duke to send orders to Sir Charles to give up the Castle immediately. The Duke complied with this request, and wrote a letter to Sir Charles Erskine to that effect.† We find that in November, 1652, the Duke's affairs remained unsettled, and his case was still before the Commissioners for compounding.‡ The Duke continued to live quietly at home for the next two years. Baillie

* *Domestic State Papers*, 1651.
† *Ibid.*, December, 1651.
‡ *mons' Journals*, vol. vii., p. 208.

mentions him for the last time in July, 1654, when talking of the ruined state of the Scotch nobility, "Lenox is living as a man buried in his house at Cobham." He was taken ill in March, 1655, of a quartan ague, and died on the 30th of that month, in the 44th year of his age,* "without the comfort," says Clarendon, "of seeing the resurrection of the Crown."† He was buried on the 18th of April in King Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, in the same vault with his uncle Ludovic Duke of Richmond.‡

The Duchess found the Duke's affairs in much confusion,§ and in 1658 became so involved in debt that she was obliged to go to France to avoid her creditors, "great store of her servants were turned off, and her estate put into friends' hands to pay debts."‖ Her son, the little Duke Esmé, was taken ill in Paris; he seems to have been bled by his physicians, and died on August 10, 1660. Probably "his most disconsolate mother," as she is called,¶ believed it was in consequence of their treatment. The inscription on his coffin-plate states that he died from "the

* Echard's *History of England*, p. 226.

† Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii., p. 295.

‡ Chester's *Registers of Westminster Abbey*, p. 148.

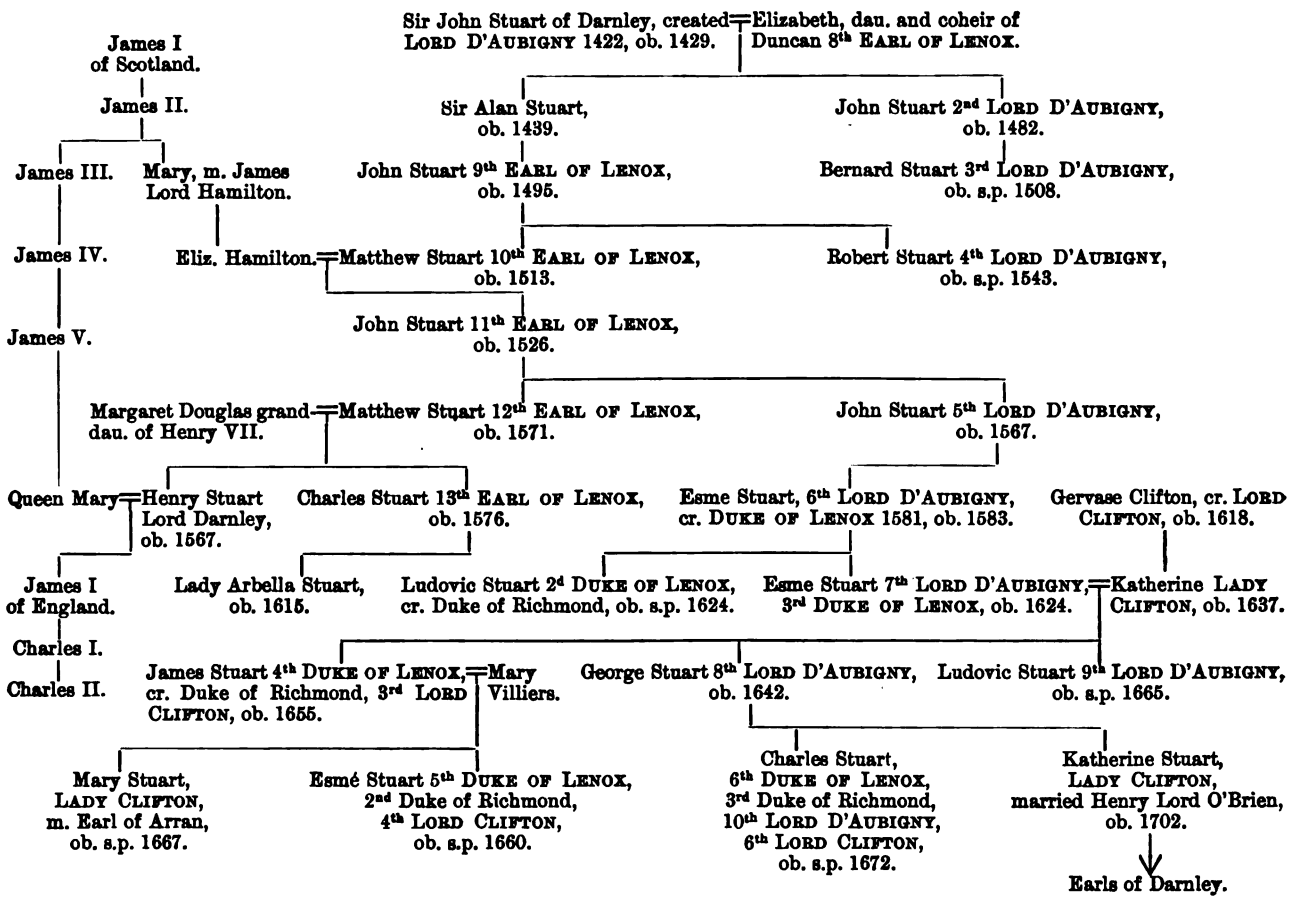
§ We find from a private Act of Parliament (14 Car. II, No. 1), a copy of which is in the British Museum (*Harleian MS.*, 6805), that the mortgages on the Duke James's estate at the time of his death amounted to £24,500, £6000 of which was charged on his Kentish estates. By this Act a dowry of £20,000 (according to the Duke's will) was to be raised out of his estates for his daughter Lady Mary, for which her husband, the Earl of Arran, afterwards accepted the Leighton estate in exchange.

‖ *Historical MSS. Commission*, Fifth Report, p. 145.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

cruelty of his physicians."* He was buried on September 4, in the Richmond vault in Westminster Abbey.† The Duke's only daughter, Lady Mary Stuart, also died young; she had married, on September 13, 1664, Richard Butler Earl of Arran, second son of the Duke of Ormonde, and died on July 4, 1667.‡ The Duchess of Richmond married, as her third husband, Colonel Thomas Howard, brother of the first Earl of Carlisle. She died in 1685, and was buried in the same vault with her second husband, the Duke of Richmond, and their son Esmé, in Westminster Abbey.§

* Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*, 3rd edition, p. 620.
† Chester's *Registers of Westminster Abbey*, p. 152.
‡ Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, vol. ii., p. 38.
§ Chester's *Registers of Westminster Abbey*.

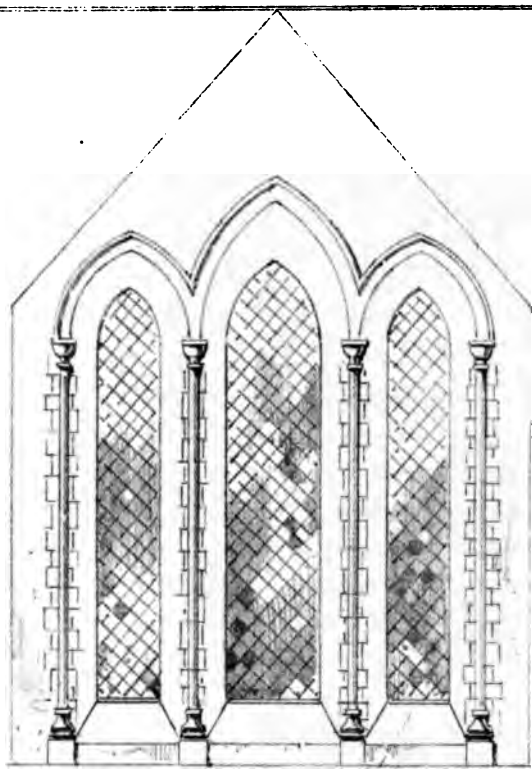

Sir John Stuart of Darnley, created Lord D'Aubigny 1422, ob. 1429.
Elizabeth, dau. and coheir of Duncan 8th Earl of Lenox.
James I of Scotland.
James II.
Sir Alan Stuart, ob. 1439.
John Stuart 2nd Lord D'Aubigny, ob. 1482.
James III.
Mary, m. James Lord Hamilton.
John Stuart 9th Earl of Lenox, ob. 1495.
Bernard Stuart 3rd Lord D'Aubigny, ob. s.p. 1508.
James IV.
Eliz. Hamilton.
Matthew Stuart 10th Earl of Lenox, ob. 1513.
Robert Stuart 4th Lord D'Aubigny, ob. s.p. 1543.
John Stuart 11th Earl of Lenox, ob. 1526.
James V.
Margaret Douglas grand-dau. of Henry VII.
Matthew Stuart 12th Earl of Lenox, ob. 1571.
John Stuart 5th Lord D'Aubigny, ob. 1567.
Queen Mary
Henry Stuart Lord Darnley, ob. 1567.
Charles Stuart 13th Earl of Lenox, ob. 1576.
Esme Stuart, 6th Lord D'Aubigny, cr. Duke of Lenox 1581, ob. 1583.
Gervase Clifton, cr. Lord Clifton, ob. 1618.
James I of England.
Lady Arbella Stuart, ob. 1615.
Ludovic Stuart 2d Duke of Lenox, cr. Duke of Richmond, ob. s.p. 1624.
Esme Stuart 7th Lord D'Aubigny, 3rd Duke of Lenox, ob. 1624.
Katherine Lady Clifton, ob. 1637.
Charles I.
Charles II.
James Stuart 4th Duke of Lenox, cr. Duke of Richmond, 3rd Lord Clifton, ob. 1655.
Mary Villiers.
George Stuart 8th Lord D'Aubigny, ob. 1642.
Ludovic Stuart 9th Lord D'Aubigny, ob. s.p. 1665.
Mary Stuart, Lady Clifton, m. Earl of Arran, ob. s.p. 1667.
Esmé Stuart 5th Duke of Lenox, 2nd Duke of Richmond, 4th Lord Clifton, ob. s.p. 1660.
Charles Stuart, 6th Duke of Lenox, 3rd Duke of Richmond, 10th Lord D'Aubigny, 6th Lord Clifton, ob. s.p. 1672.
Katherine Stuart, Lady Clifton, married Henry Lord O'Brien, ob. 1702.
Earls of Darnley.

CHISLET CHURCH.

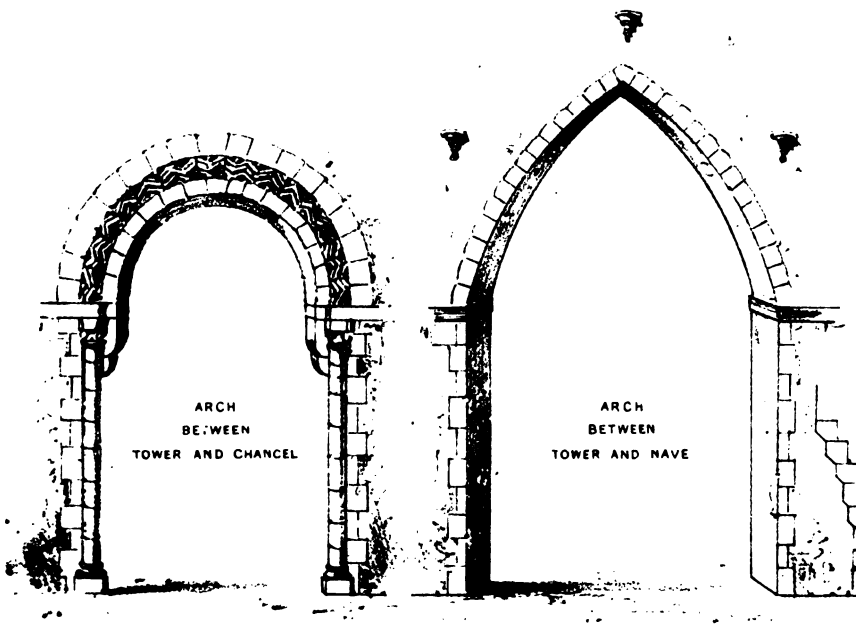
BY FREDERICK SLATER.

CHISLET CHURCH is of Norman architecture, of the twelfth century, and has a nave 47ft. by 20ft. (inside), with a tower at its east end, which opens into the chancel through a fine Norman arch. There was originally a similar arch from the nave to the tower, the foundations of which were discovered, under the pavement, during the restoration of the church in 1866. Nothing was found to shew what the original Norman chancel may have been, but in the exterior masonry of the present chancel may be seen wrought Caen stones, which appear to have been used in the original building. The Norman chancel arch, still remaining (Pl. I), has had its piers cut away for about two-thirds of their height from the floor at some period, probably later than the alterations and additions to the nave and aisles, which will be noticed further on. The surfaces of the piers were left quite rough, as though hacked with a common bricklayers' hammer. They were made smooth, and finished off as at present seen, during the restoration in 1866.

The tower, 17ft. by 17ft. (inside), has two Norman windows, with deep splays of a date corresponding with the alterations of the nave, the Norman character of the windows being retained on the outside. The Norman windows in the belfry have been preserved entire, that is, with their original splays.



EAST WINDOW OF CHANCEL.



F. Slater, del.

CHISLET CHURCH.

On the south side, within the tower, is a Norman doorway (Plate II) with a wooden lintel, leading to the belfry, which is reached by the Norman stairs; the turret has narrow slits for light, as well as a larger window below, to light the entrance. This larger window was stopped up when the south aisle was added to the nave. The entrance to the belfry turret was from the inside only. During a later period an entrance to the belfry turret from the outside was constructed. The bells, which are six in number, bear the names of the donors or their founders, with dates. The shingled wood-work, a later addition, surmounting the Norman tower, is the base of a spire, which was either never completed or was taken down, from the inability of the tower to support its weight.

The nave, before its aisles were added, had Norman windows of considerable size, placed high in the walls. Some of them were brought to light during the work of restoration in 1866, and one of them is preserved in the south arcade of the nave. Worked Caen stones, from the other windows, built into the walls over and round the nave arches, were seen when the plaister was removed at the restoration. Remains of the Norman west door, and west window splays, were discovered at the same time. The Norman church evidently consisted of a simple nave, a central tower, and chancel.

The present chancel and the north and south aisles of the nave, with the arch between the nave and the tower, belong to the Early English style of the thirteenth century. The new tower-arch appears to have afforded a better view of the new chancel, and the Norman arch leading into the chancel was probably cut away with the same intention. When

the Early English aisles were added, the walls of the Norman nave were simply cut through, and large portions of them were left to form piers of support to the arches of the aisles.

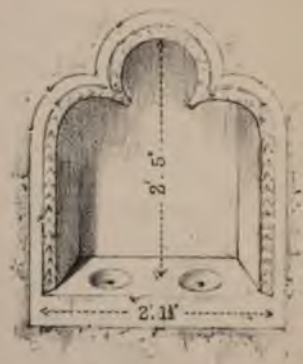
The aisles measure 8ft. by 47ft. inside. At the west end of the north aisle was a priest's room (Plate II), one of the chief features of interest in this church. The windows and corbels which supported the floor still remain. The sill of the western window is so much splayed downwards as to admit light into the aisle, beneath the floor of the priest's upper chamber. The north window of the chamber is extremely small. There is a stoup for holy water at the north door of the church. The window at the east end of this aisle was discovered and opened at the restoration in 1866. A side altar existed at the east end of each aisle, as is proved by the piscina at the end of the north aisle, and the aumbrye in the south wall near the end of the south aisle. The belfry stairs stood in the way of an eastern window for the south aisle.

The window frames and tracery in the aisles and at the west end of nave were of Kentish rag stone, and were so much dilapidated that at the restoration in 1866 they were replaced in new Bath stone.

In the south pier of the arch to the tower is seen a curious arrangement of stepped stone work (Plate I), which has not been explained. It might have been required to give room for stairs to the rood loft, or a passage-way to the tower by the side of the Norman arch; at all events, the wall is here cut away. On the north pier of the same arch may be seen quoin stones of a supposed doorway, now left unplaistered for observation. By looking at the arch which leads into the chancel, it may be seen that there would not be room,

WEST END OF NORTH AISLE, SHEWING SITE OF PRIEST'S UPPER CHAMBER.

SOUTH DOORWAY, WITH WOODEN LINTEL IN THE TOWER.



PISCINA IN CHANCEL.

CHISLET CHURCH.

F. Porter del.

between the quoin stones and the wall, for a door or passage, without cutting into the wall. Over the arch, between the nave and the tower, are three well-moulded brackets for images.

The west window of the nave is of later date, being of the Perpendicular style. The font is interesting, being carved with representations of traceried windows. It had been removed for many years, and was used at a farm for a cattle trough. It was restored to its original position at the restoration of the church in 1866. The substitute for this font had been constructed of bricks and cement.

The chancel, 20ft. by 37ft. (inside), has three lancet windows on the south side and three on the north side, and its eastern window is a lancet triplet (Plate I). All these windows have been recently filled with painted glass, representing Biblical incidents from the Old Testament on the north side, and from the New Testament on the south. In the east window the Passion of our Lord is depicted. Over the north and south windows are labels terminating in human heads, admirably executed and worthy of close examination. There are sedilia, of three seats, and a double piscina (Plate II) on the south side, and west of them is a door leading into the churchyard. On the north side of the chancel is a door leading to the vestry (the old sacristy). The present vestry was added at the restoration in 1866. Beneath the vestry is the furnace room and boiler for heating the church with hot water. The painted decoration of the reredos and chancel was the work of amateur parishioners, done at the request of the Rev. Robert Johnson, the Vicar, in 1872 and 1873.

Built into the churchyard wall, near the east end

consuetudine percipere & habere. Item habeant et percipiant dicti Vicarii nomine Vicariæ predictæ a Religiosis ejusdem apud Chistlet unum pondus sive Way casei nomine Decimarum, Vaccarum et Ovium dictorum religiosorum infra dictam parochiam de Chistlet depascentium, ac etiam Decimam de Venatione parci dictorum Religiosirum apud Chistlet, et Decimam Molendinorum eorum infra parochiam antedictam existentium tum tradantur et dimittantur (*sic*) ad firmam, quæ per tempus aliquod eidem Vicario per dictos Religiosos indebitè substracta fuerunt. Subeant autem Vicarii præfati onus deserviendi per se aut alium Presbyterum idoneum præfatæ ecclesiæ in divinis; onus insuper solutionis Decimarum et Impositionum aliarum, quæ Anglicanæ ecclesiæ imponi quandocunque seu per quemcunque Contingent seu ipsi Ecclesiæ de Chistlet incumbent pro taxatione centum solidorum suis sumptibus subeant et expensis: Onera vero reparationis et refectionis Cancelli præfatæ Ecclesiæ de Chistlet intus et exterius, nec non inventionis et reparationis librorum, vestimentorum et ornamentorum ecclesiæ ejusdem quæ per Ecclesiarum rectores invenire et reparari debent de jure vel consuetudine ac cetera onera ordinaria et extraordinaria eidem ecclesiæ incumbentia præfato Vicario superius non adscripta dicti Religiosi subeant perpetim et agnoscant. Quæ omnia et singula nos præfatus Archiepiscopus approbantes ea authoritate nostra Ordinaria approbamus, reservantes nobis et successoribus nostris Archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus dictam Vicariam augmentandi et diminuendi, si et quando nobis et iis expedire videbitur plenariam potestatem in quorum Testimonium Sigillum nostrum fecimus apponi. Dat. apud Lambeth Idus Februarii Anno Domini MCCCXIV. & nostræ Translationis decimo tertio.

This is a true Copie taken and examined by Mr Wm Somner Notary publick.

[The volume of Papers whence these extracts are copied formerly belonged to Archbishop Sancroft [1677-90]; many pages in it are in his handwriting.]

THE LORDS OF COBHAM.

[PART II.]

BY J. G. WALLER.

GEORGE, second son of Thomas Brooke, seventh Baron Cobham, was born about 1497, and he first appears in public life as accompanying his father, who was in attendance on Mary, daughter of Henry VII, when she left England to be married to Louis XII of France; and they were both at the ceremony. Much of his life was spent in military service, which he began with the expedition into Ireland under the Duke of Norfolk, the King's Lieutenant, in 1520. In 1522, when Henry VIII declared war against France, George Brooke was with the fleet under High Admiral the Earl of Surrey, and was by him knighted. An inroad was made in the neighbourhood of Calais, but it was not a successful campaign, as the French avoided a general action. Nor in the succeeding year, notwithstanding successes on the part of the united Flemish and English forces, did the war lead to much result.

His father having died in 1529, he was now Lord of Cobham, and on the 7th of September, 1533, a letter from Anne Boleyn announced to him the birth of Elizabeth. Events followed quickly, for he was, only three years afterwards, appointed one of the twenty-seven peers to try that unfortunate Queen. The christening of Edward VI, the child of the new Queen, Jane Seymour, took place a year later, on October 15th, 1537, and, at the ceremony, Lord Cobham bore the consecrated wafers for the two princesses Mary and Elizabeth.

For a few years, he seems to have led the ordinary life of a courtier, undertaking those duties in his county which fell to him through his position. In a

letter from the Privy Council, 20 Dec., 1543, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, it is stated that in consequence of a fire having taken place in his house, he would not be able fitly to entertain the Viceroy of Naples, Ambassador from Charles V, whose reception should be undertaken by him. In the following year he resumed his military career, and was made Lieutenant-General of the army under Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, now arraying against the Scots. For Henry, having nearly two years before declared war, and obtained some successes, early in the year, sent a fleet commanded by Lord Lisle, consisting of 200 vessels, having on board 10,000 men. They landed at Leith and marched to Edinburgh, which city they burnt and pillaged. Hertford then went eastwards, and, having received reinforcements, laid waste the country, burning Haddington and Dunbar, and then retreated into England with but small loss.

A letter from Hertford to the King makes good mention of Cobham, with others. "Forasmuch," says he, "as my Lord of Shrewsbury, my Lord William (Howard), my Lord Cobham, who was Marshall of your armye, my Lorde Clynton, my Lorde Sturton have don Your Highnes right honest and payneful service in this journey I thought it also my parte to signifie the same to Your Majeste and if it might please the same to remember them with Your Majeste's condigne thanks, it should be most to their comfortes."*

The sudden recall of the army was due to King Henry having joined the Emperor Charles V in an invasion of France. He passed over to Calais with 30,000

* State Papers, Hen. VIII, vol. v. p. 390.

men, and about this time Lord Cobham was made Deputy of Calais in the room of the Earl of Arundel. The campaign was soon brought to a close by the Emperor making a special treaty with Francis and entirely ignoring his ally. So, Henry returned to England with but barren triumphs. Meanwhile he was at war both with France and Scotland.

Lord Cobham's services must now be looked for at his important post at Calais, the last relic of the English footing in France, which, a few years later, was to pass away for ever.* Soon after his appointment, we find him exchanging courtesies with the neighbouring towns and the French officers in adjacent fortified positions. On the 12th of December, 1546, M. Bepisseloup, the Captain of Hedin, sent him a couple of "bracques," one of which he had brought up in his own room, "qui lieve très bien le faisant et le perdrix." On February 12th, 1547, he invites M. Blerecourt, Captain of Ardres, with any other gentlemen he might bring, to take part in a series of jousts to be held in honour of the coronation of Edward VI. But the Captain was obliged to decline, on account of pressing orders to proceed elsewhere, saying, in reply to a letter of the 19th inst., "that he had been at the 'chasse' two days in the hope of getting some game for his English friend, that his men had orders to make another attempt; meanwhile he sends him two venison pasties," which are very thankfully acknowledged, and seemed to have been very acceptable at that time. Lord Cobham, on his side, in a letter of the 21st, expresses his regret to M. Blerecourt and M. Damport

* A large number of letters from Lord Cobham of an official character, whilst at Calais, are preserved amongst the Harleian MSS.

that he was unable to send the "dogues" which the latter desired to have, and later in the year again apologises that he was unable to let M. Blerecourt have a supply of laths, as by the laws of the town no new house was allowed to have a roof of rushes, doubtless a provision against fire and the contingencies of sieges.* During this same year he is also one of the Commissioners to enquire into the French and English boundaries, in the county of Boulogne. And he was a witness to the oath of Henry II to observe the conditions of peace.

In the year following he was made a Knight of the Garter, and on the 2nd of May went, in company of Sir William Petre, Principal Secretary, on an embassy to the French King, whom they met at Amiens, and on his return was made a Privy Counsellor. His services were also rewarded in a substantial form by the grant of the site of the Priory of the Augustine Canons at Newenham, Bedfordshire, and also of the College of St. Mary and All Saints at Maidstone, to be held of the King *in capite*, by knight service. These grants inform us of the great change which had taken place through the dissolution of monasteries, and that, like other courtiers, Lord Cobham had come in for his share of the spoil.

One of the most important events of the brief reign of Edward VI was the attainder of the Protector, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, whose career is a marked one in English history, and some of whose services have already been alluded to. On his committal to the Tower on a charge of treason, he submitted to the mercy of the Crown. But a committee was appointed by the Lords, consisting of the Earls

* Vide Harl. MSS. 288, pp. 60, 62.

of Bath and Northumberland, the Lords Cobham and Morley, with four bishops, to examine him on the articles alleged against him in the name of the House. To each of these he pleaded guilty, and although, on his trial, he was acquitted of treason, he was condemned for felony, and executed.

Soon after this, Lord Cobham was appointed Bailiff of Gravesend for life, but he soon resigned this office. During the same year, March 24th, 1550, he was in the commission for witnessing Henry II of France swear to the treaty of peace. In the year following he was made Bailiff of the manor of Greane for life, which was afterwards conferred on him *in capite* by knight's service. And again, as a reward for his good services, the King gave him the lordship and manor of Great and Little Hoo, and the hundred of Hoo, with divers other lands and tenements to the annual value of £108. 3*s*. 5*d*., to which was added the rectory of Erith. It is therefore clear, that, at present, he was a gainer by the changes, and hardly one of those disposed to quarrel with the times.

But the times were out of joint, and mischief was looming on the horizon. In all sudden changes, even though abstractedly considered beneficial, there is an amount of present evil. When, therefore, we find Lord Cobham appointed, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Cheney, on a commission to enquire into treasons, murders, felonies, etc., in his county of Kent, we see shadowed forth the trouble of coming events, now near at hand, which he was himself to feel, and which, before set at rest, would overwhelm the barony of Cobham itself. As yet, however, things proceed smoothly with him. In July he receives at Cobham Hall, Claude du Val, the Maréchal St. André,

then on his way to London. In December he, with other nobles, attends at a muster of forces before the King in Hyde Park, his brother-in-law, Lord Bray, being in gilt harness as Captain of the Pensioners, he himself with fifty men-at-arms in black and white, his standard being the Saracen's head, the ancient crest of the family of Cobham. In the following year he is made Lieutenant-General of the forces sent into the north, upon apprehension of danger from the French, with whom our relations were still unsatisfactory.

The health of the young King was now shewing serious symptoms of decline, and he removed to Greenwich, where, in the park, on May 16th, 1552, another muster was held before him, in which Lord Bray again appears at the head of the Pensioners, and Lord Cobham, as before, his coat "garded with white and pensils." Possibly this was the last military spectacle the King witnessed, for now we arrive at the time in which the Earl of Northumberland's ambition had reached its climax. The dying King, through his influence, excludes both his sisters from the succession, and the obsequious Council, of which Lord Cobham is one, subscribe to the instrument by which the Crown is limited to Lady Jane Grey.

What ensued is well known. A rising in Mary's favour was immediate, and no sooner had Northumberland left London to suppress it than the Council rebelled against his dictation. Lord Cobham's name does not appear amongst those who took an active part in this revulsion, though he probably was wise enough to see clearly before him. His feeling was most likely on the side of the Reformation, for he had selected for his sons' tutors the well-known Martin Bucer, and others of the reformed faith; and their

education was sedulously attended to. But vacillation is almost a necessary course in mental changes, and it is so the more especially when the matter is one of moment, and there is a gulf to leap. However, Lord Cobham now leaves, like others, the unhappy fortune of the young and innocent puppet Queen for the side of loyalty and legitimacy. So he countenances by his presence the proclamation of Queen Mary, obedient, like others of the Council, to the Queen's letter and accepting the pardon it contained.

The new reign begins amidst the joy of the people. The old religion is restored and Reformation repressed. But the Queen takes the dangerous step of seeking her chief adviser in a foreign potentate. Henceforward the Emperor Charles V, with his Ambassador, Rénard, stands by as Mary's evil genius. Then comes the question of marriage, in which, disdaining the national feeling so strongly manifested, her mind fixes itself on Philip, the Emperor's eldest son. It was the signal and the excuse for the uprising known as Wyatt's Rebellion, which, however, was widely spread amongst the party late in power, and without doubt full of danger to the throne.

Lord Cobham's part was a very difficult one. It may not be easy to say where his real sympathies lay, nor are those living in quiet times like the present able to understand the acts of one in so critical a position. Allied to Wyatt by marriage, and, as we have seen, but lately on the Council which acknowledged the Lady Jane Grey, and by many other facts which point to a leaning to the reformed Church, one might assume his feeling would be with the rebellion. On the other hand, he must have felt it to be a rash proceeding, and at best doubtful as to the result. This may explain his

conduct. We find him advising the Duke of Norfolk, who commanded the Royal forces, of an "espial" who had been at his house, upon whom it was found stated that both "pentioners, gardes, and Londoners wolde tak such part as he dyd," and warning the Duke not to be too forward until such time as his company had come together. Also he said, "I will bryng my men to Gravesende for I have no weapons for them but a few black bills." This was from Cowling Castle, on the 29th of January, and it was on the evening of the same day, that he wrote another letter to the Queen herself, telling her that he was at Gravesend the day before conferring with Mr. Vice-Chamberlain about setting out against the rebels, and afterwards with the Duke of Norfolk, resolving to do nothing until the arrival of the Lord Admiral with his assembly. "Whereupon," says he, "the next morning early I repayred to my Castell putting myself in a redynes with my men and at my coming thither did understand that ther had byn in myne absence a spial sent from Wyat to my sonnes who wer with me at Gravesende." He then recounts his communication with Norfolk, how he desired to be advertised of his movements towards the rebels. Then he heard that his lordship had already marched towards Rochester, and when he was in all speed making to join him, before he got half-way was advertised "that his men had forsaken hym and wer fledde to the rebelles." Upon which he retired back to his castle, and he concludes by assuring the Queen of his allegiance, "praying to God for the preservation of your ma^tie^ with the victory over your enemyes (Couling Castle, January, 1553-4.)"

Wyatt's letter to Lord Cobham was enclosed, and it shews at least that he thought his lordship was with

him, as it reproaches thus: "I am right sorye," says he, "that you are so far behind hande, . . . I pray you to be her tomorrow, for we will march then to London," signing himself "your frend and cosyn." He adds in a postscript, "I pray you take some order for the takyng of the Duke of Norfolk whereso he be between this and London, wherein you shall gratifie the state of the realm."

Lord Cobham, however, did not obey the summons, so Wyatt immediately appears before his Castle of Cowlyng; and in another letter to the Queen, he tells her he bid them defiance and called them rebels, "defendyng my castell with such power as I had until v of the clok at afternone havyng no other municyons or wepons but iv or v hand gones, pykes, and the rest black bylls, the fault wherof I may well ascrybe unto your grace's offycers of the bulwerkes and ships makyng ernest request as well as to my lord of Norfolk as to theym for the same, howbeit I could never get none." He then proceeds to state how they laid battery to the gate with two pieces of ordnance and four others to another side of the castle, that four or five of his men were slain, others hurt, at which the commons assembled were discouraged, and began to mutiny, so that he was obliged to yield. He counsels the Queen to assemble such a force in convenient time as may encounter with them, being "so fewe in number beyng not above ij^{m} and not v^{c} of them able and good armed men, but rascalls and rake-hells as lyve by spoyle." He, however, was obliged, as he confesses, to give his honour to be with them at the morrow at Gravesend, "yet notwithstanding I will remain faithful in hart towards your highnes advertysing your grace from tyme to tyme of

their procedyngs." He concludes by asking, that some one might be sent to his house to see of his good faith, alluding to the suspicions he had heard of reported to her. So, Lord Cobham, between two stools, with his sons now in the rebels' camp, tries to make the best of his uncomfortable position, as would seem natural for a man advanced in age and of mature judgment, and whose life had been passed in the midst of momentous changes, the fruit of which would be gathered long after he had passed away.*

From the failure of allies the enterprise grew desperate as Wyatt advanced, but the young Brookes held with him throughout, until the bedraggled and thinned band arrived at Temple Bar. Here Wyatt found himself shut out from the City, the Queen's forces arriving in his rear. It was then, save themselves who can, his followers dispersed; he himself sat down at a bench of the Bell Sauvage Inn, with Thomas Brooke, who remained faithful to the last, and was taken with him and committed to the Tower. William Brooke, the eldest son, and another, perhaps John, and Lord Cobham himself, were also arrested, though it might seem that the latter had already suffered enough from the insurgents to be thought one of them.

That the principals of an overt act of treason so grave should suffer the extreme penalty, was a consequence they themselves could only expect, and for them pity may be misplaced. The new Queen had now an opportunity of shewing that she possessed the high prerogative of mercy that becomes

"The throned monarch better than his crown."

* The above facts are taken from Cruden's 'History of Gravesend.'

But there was no mercy. Executions took place daily. Never, in its long and eventful history, had London witnessed such a scene as now ensued. Fifteen gibbets with eighty men dangling from them filled its streets with horror. "At all crossways and at all thoroughfares," said Noialles, the French ambassador, "the eye was met with the hideous spectacle of hanging men." So did the Queen pursue her vengeance, until even the Lords, poor though they were in number as in spirit when compared with that proud body who had awed the Plantagenets, plucked up courage to remonstrate. For Elizabeth on that day, and it was Palm Sunday, had been committed to the Tower, and gloomy apprehensions existed as to her probable fate. Lord Paget was their messenger. "He found Mary in her oratory after vespers; he told her that the season might remind a sovereign of other duties besides revenge; already too much blood had been shed; the noble house of Suffolk was all but destroyed; and he said distinctly, that if she attempted any more executions, he and his friends would interfere; the hideous scenes had lasted too long, and as an earnest of a return to mercy, he demanded the pardon of six gentlemen.

"Mary, as she lamented afterwards to Rénard, was unprepared; she was pressed in terms which shewed that those who made the request did not intend to be refused, and she consented. In the course of the week the Council extorted from her the pardon of Northampton, Cobham and one of his sons, with five others."* Thus Lord Cobham and his son William escaped: but Thomas remained in prison for another year, leaving a memorial of his confinement by carving "Thomas Cobham, 1555,"

* Froude, vol. v. p. 384.

similar to that beneath her husband's, and she wears the French hood, forerunner of the modern bonnet. Her hands are conjoined in prayer, and at her feet is the "gatyger," as a lion couchant winged, the wings heraldically emblazoned "vaire." It is a cognizance of the house of Bray.

On a semicircular projection of the west end of the table lies a helmet, surmounted by the ancient crest of the Cobham family—the Moor, or Saracen's Head—and the same is seen over against the tomb on the north wall upon a helmet, possibly that of Lord George.

At the east end of the tomb are two escutcheons; the upper one is Brooke and quarterings, viz., Brooke, Cobham, De la Pole, Peveril, Braybrook, St. Amand, quartering Bray thus:

Troughton.—*Argent*, a chevron between 3 eagles' claws erased *sable*.

Bray.—Vaire *argent* and *azure* 3 bendlets *gules*.

Hallighwell.—*Or* on a bend *gules*, 3 goats *argent*, armed of the field.

Norbury.—*Sable* on a chevron between 3 bulls' heads, caboshed, *argent* a fleur-de-lis of the field.

Boteler.—*Gules* a fess checky *argent* and *sable* between 6 crosslets paté fitché *argent*.

Sudeley.—*Or* 2 bendlets *gules*.

Montfort.—Bandy of four *or* and *azure*.

Croyser.—*Sable*, a cross between 4 butterflies *or*.

Dabernon.—*Azure*, a chevron *or*.

Beneath this is a large escutcheon, having as supporters—on the dexter side an antelope, on the sinister a griffin. This is surmounted by a helmet with crest of a lion passant crowned, a cognizance of Brooke. Motto, "Je me fie en Dieu." In this escutcheon the quarterings of Brooke impale those of Bray, as above given.

At the west end there are also two escutcheons, the upper one consisting of Brooke, as before, with the quarterings of Bray on an escutcheon of pretence. It is surrounded by the Garter.

Beneath this is a large escutcheon with twenty-seven coats of arms, consisting of the quarterings of Brooke and Bray, impaling the arms and quarterings of Newton, the latter representing the second wife of Sir William Brooke, son and heir of Lord Cobham, by whom this monument was erected. It has supporters, and the motto as before, the crest being that of the Moor's head. The bearings of Newton are as follows:—

Newton, or Caradoc.—*Argent*, on a chevron *sable*, 3 garbs *or*.

Sherbourne.—Ermine, a fess lozengy *sable*.

Angle.—*Or*, a fesse lozengy *azure*, a bendlet *gules* (4 fusils fess-wise?).

Perrott.—*Gules*, 3 pears *argent* (*or?*).

Harvey.—*Sable*, billetté and a lion rampant *argent*.

Cheddar.—*Sable*, a chevron ermine.

Pickering.—*Gules*, a chevron *or* between 3 fleurs-de-lis.

. . . . *Argent* on a chevron *gules*, between 3 cinquefoils *azure*, 3 annulets of the first.

Bitton.—Ermine, a fesse *gules*.

Furneaux.—*Gules*, a bend between 6 cross-crosslets *or*.

Caldecot, or Caudecot.—Parted per pale, *or* and *azure*, on chief, 3 leopards' heads *argent*.

Gurney, or Corney.—Paly of six *or* and *azure*.

On the west side is the figure of Elizabeth, the eldest child, Marchioness of Northampton, wearing a coronet, a tabard of arms over her gown, and a mantle; she kneels on an embroidered cushion. The arms are Brooke and Bray quartered, impaling Parre thus:—

Parre.—(Not visible). . .

Fitzhugh.—*Azure*, 3 chevronels interlaced and a chief *or*.

Staveley.—Barry *argent* and *gules*, a fleur-de-lis *sable*.
Furneaux.—*Gules*, a bend between 6 cross crosslets *or*.
Gray.—Barry *argent* and *azure* on a bend *gules*, 3 martlets *or*.
Marmion.—Vaire, *argent* and *azure* a fesse *gules*.
Gernegan,—Barry *or* and *azure*, an eagle *sable*.
St. Quentin.—*Or* 3 chevronels *gules*, a chief vaire *argent* and *azure*.
Greene.—*Vert*, 3 bucks trippant *or*.
. . . . . (not visible).

Opposite to her kneels a similar figure for Anne, second daughter, who died unmarried. At the east end, also, is a figure for Mary, third daughter, unmarried; and one for Katharine, fourth daughter. All have tabards of arms of Brooke and Bray, the latter impaling Jerningham, thus:

Jerningham.—*Argent*, 3 buckles *gules* (not visible).
Ingoldsthorpe.—*Gules*, a cross engrailed *argent*.
Fitzosborne.—*Gules*, 3 bars gemelles *or*, a canton *argent*.
Harlinge.—*Argent*, a unicorn rampant *sable* (not visible).
Mortimer.—*Or*, 6 fleurs-de-lis, 3, 2, and 1 *sable*.
Gonvyle.—*Argent*, on a chevron with 2 cottices engrailed *sable* 3 escallops of the field.
Loudam.—*Argent*, 3 escutcheons *sable* (not visible).
Kelvedon.—*Gules*, a pall reversed *ermine*.
Clifton.—*Sable*, a lion rampant within an orle of cinquefoils *argent*.

1. At the west end of the south side the figures of the sons, in armour, kneeling on cushions, begin with Sir William, the eldest. He wears a Peer's mantle with tippet of ermine, a tabard emblazoned with the arms of Brooke and Bray, over which is a label of three points, impaling those of Nevil, of Abergavenny, for his first wife.

3. George Brooke, third son, has the attitude varied from the rest, as he is kneeling upon one knee, the right being slightly raised, as in getting

up. His tabard shews an impalement of the arms of Duke, viz., parted per pale *argent* and *azure* three wreaths counter-changed.

5. John Brooke, fifth son, has the arms of Cobbe impaled, viz., *argent*, a chevron between three cocks *gules*.

7. Henry Brooke, seventh son, being unmarried, impales blank. There is a quatrefoil for difference.* In the portrait taken of him in 1582, the quarterfoil has given place to an annulet, he being then fifth son.

9. Edmund Brooke, ninth son. His tabard has only Brooke and Bray; he holds his sword hilt with his left hand, the right being on his breast.

2. On the north side the first is Henry Brooke, second son, with blank impalement.

4. Thomas Brooke, fourth son, has a fleur-de-lis *argent* for difference, and impales Cavendish quarterly, 1 and 4, *Sable*, three stags' heads couped, 2 and 3, a chevron *gules* between 3 cross-crosslets *sable*, a crescent *or* for difference.

6. Edward Brooke, unmarried, with blank impalement.

8. Thomas Brooke, eighth son, blank impalement.

10. Edward Brooke, tenth son, similar in treatment with 9, as both terminate the row and face the altar. He bears Brooke and Bray without impalement.

All these figures are arranged between the columns, and have their names superscribed above them. The inscription, in Latin, very long and expressed in capital letters, is well carved on the bevelled verge of the

* He afterwards married the widow of Sir Walter Haddon, who died 1571-2. At the time, therefore, in which this monument was made he was unmarried.

marble table upon which the effigies lie, and is as follows:—

Honoratissimvs . et . clarissimvs . vir . Georgivs . Brokvs . fvit . dominvs . Cobhamvs . ex . oppidi . Cobami . possessione . cognominatvs . et . idem . lavdatissimvs . aliqvot . annis . Caleti . præfectvs . in . illvstrissimv' . Col | legivm . cooptatvs . eqvitvm . Divi . Georgii . nec . s°lvm . hanc . prestantissimam . habvit . honorvm . et . familiæ . comendationen . sed . etiam . natvra . fvit . optima . et . animo . omni . genere . lavdis . ornatissimo . dvx . fvit . in . bello . prestantissimvs . et . sapientissimvs . in . pace . consiliarivs . princ | ipibvs . in qvorvm . temporibvs . vixit . egregie . probatvs . Cantianis . svis . inter . qvos . habitavit . eximie . charvs . deniqz . toti . reipvblicæ . propter . honorv' . splendorem . et . virtutv' . notissimvs . et . dilectissimvs . et . hæc . o'ia . fvervnt . in . illo . illvstriora . quoniam . et . professionem . evangelii . sus | ceperat . et . defensionem . ac . eandem . ad . extremv' | vsqz . spiritvm . conservavit . Iste . nobilissimvs . vir . constantissimvs . Dei . servvs . et . ornatissimv' . patriæ . membrv' . cvm . ad . matvram . senectvtem . pervenisset . annv' . agens . sexagesi | mv' . secundv' . et . fæbris . ardoribvs . conflagrans . tertio | calendas . octobris . est . mortvvs . anno . 1558 . cvivs . discessv . liberi . qvos . post . se . mvltos . et . inprimis . lavdatos . reliqvit . et . amici . ac . necessarii . tota . deniqz . respvblica . magnv' . et . ivstv' . dolorem | accepervnt . Gvlihelmvs . autem . Brokvs . eqves . appella | tvs . ex . antiqvæ . familiæ . cognominac'oe . d'ns . Cobhamvs . filivs . Georgii . patris . et . hæres . benevalentissimvs . hoc . monvmentv' . memoriæ . Georgii . patris . svi . charissimi . dedicavit . anno . 1561 . et . Elizabethæ . Reginæ . tertio

Patre . fvit . domino | fælix . dominoqz . marito, . alter . erat . Braivs : Cobamus . alter . erat | Anna . fvit . frv | gi . fvit . et . prosperima . mater . pauperibvs . larga . præbvit . anna . manv | Nil . erat . hac . mel | ivs . nil . fortunativs . una . Donec . erat . charo . charior . illa . viro | Vltimvs . hvnc . annvs . Mariæ . cv' . funere . mersit . illa . pari . fato . mense . novembre . rvit | Sic . qvos . vita . dvos . concordes . semper . habebat . extinctos . eadem . nv'c . qvoqz . busta . tenent .

It was not the first that was suggested, as will be

seen in the draft given in a note below.* It refers generally to his services, to his profession and defence of the Gospel, the esteem in which he was held, and tells us, that his son and heir dedicated this monument to his most dear memory in the year 1561. This date is inscribed in large characters at the base of the west-end of the tomb, being shewn as white upon a black ground, and it is a feature in this monument that its decoration is produced by incisions filled in with colour, black being that for the architectural portions.

The material used is wax mixed with resin, an Italian process, and a relic of the Greek encaustic practice spoken of by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, lib. xxxv.), and which, indeed, was a forerunner of oil-painting. In this particular the example is specially interesting, as no other

* INSCRIPTION PROPOSED, BUT NOT ADOPTED.

(*Harl. MS.* 284, fol. 131.)

Mortale hoc induet æternitate'.—1 Cor. iv.

Honoratus ac strenuus vir Georgius Brocus, Cobhami Regulus Caleti nuper prorex ordinis divi Georgii eques auratus familia nobilis, dum vixit, verus Dei cultor, religione pius, natura clemens, principibus gratus, hostibus patrie ferus, foris manu promptusz, domi in consilio dando fidelis, patriæ amator, pacis conciliætor, justiciæ co'servator, belli dux præstans, amicis fidus, Inimicis parcens, egenis misericors, om'ibus affabilis, comis, in adv'sis constans, In secu'dis moderatus, In periculis magnanimus, In su'ptibus magnificus, hospitalis, prudens, majoribus quanquam clarissimis, illustrior, cu'ctis ordinibz charus, ætate jam grandis natu, sobole numerosa fœlix, tertio calendas octobris, post natu' Christu', servatorem Anno supra sesquimille, quinquagesimo octavo, ætatis vero . . . . , nobis triste sui desideriu' relinquens, spreto mu'do ex hac vita in domino migravit: corpus autem sole'nibus sepulcroru' ceremoniis apparatu' que funebriu' epuloru' splendido in avitu' monume'tu, a liberis amicisqz veste lugubri, vultu mœsto, ac animo gemibu'do relatu', In extremo restaurationis et Judicii die reviviscens, corona justiciæ redimiendu', In luce' prodiet: mens vero interim divinæ particeps

instance occurs to the writer of its use in England, though its claim, as a means of decoration, is far above any other mode for durability. Many of the colours here used, however, have been made of pigments, having a tendency to fade or change, viz., verditer for blue, which has become a dark green, and an impure vermilion, or native cinnabar, which has become brown. The heraldry, too, is in some places untrue, as in the small figures, *argent* and *or* are both represented by the alabaster itself. But it may be possible that *or* was originally, in the cases alluded to, intended to be gilded.

The family of Lord George command a special attention. It has already been mentioned with what sedulous care he attended to the education of his sons, seeking for them tutors from eminent men of the

naturæ in fæliciu' animaru' cœtu' relata, In cœlis cu' Deo beata ævo sempiterno fruitur.

Piis Christus vita est
et mori lucru'.—Phil. i.

Disce mori, fragilis vita est, mors certa, sed ulli
Tempora fas no' est noscere, disce mori,
Disce mori, non forma, decus, fundus, ve, vires, te
Letho aut subducu't stem'ata, disce mori
Disce mori, sponsus veniet, lampas . . g . . . . . .
Math. xxv. Plena oleo, niteat lumine, disce mori.
Disce mori, sec'li ne gloria fallat, inanis
Divitiis noli fidere, disce mori.
Disce mori, mundi fluxis ne credite rebus,
Si cupis æternu' vivere, disce mori
Disce mori, vigila, mox ingruet arbiter æquus
Vult non paratu' perdere, disce mori
Phil. i. Disce mori, mors paulus ait, tibi lucra reponet,
Christus vita piis optima, disce mori
Sis bonus et clemens nobis, ut morte soluti
Intremus regni gaudia Christe tui.

reformed Church; perhaps, for the first time, we hear of foreign travel forming part of the training of the youth of the nobility of England. Some of them stand out prominently from the rest, and to these our attention must be directed. His eldest, William, will have a full record as a Lord of Cobham, so at present we will take the next in order, leaving mention of those who, dying early and unmarried, are without record.

George, the third son, was born January 27th, 1532-3. He was sent abroad with his tutor, Edmund Harvell, and studied Greek, Latin and Italian under him at Venice in 1545-6; in the following year he returned to England in the company of M. Sylvester. He was apprenticed to his father on the 31st of December, 1552, as merchant of the staple of Calais in the usual form: George Barnes, Lord Mayor of London, and the sheriffs being witnesses.* And this is all we have to say of him, except that in 1561 he took refuge at Antwerp from his German creditors. He married Christiana, daughter and heir of Richard Duke of Otterton, Devon.

It has been remarked that a large family is often productive of a scapegrace. If we seek for an example, among the fourteen children of Lord Cobham we find it in that of his fourth son, Thomas. He has been mentioned before, as in Wyatt's Rebellion, but, as he was not the only one of the family who was therein engaged, in itself it would not be notable. But his earlier days were a shadow of the coming man. We hear dire complaints of him at Orleans, when he was but seventeen years old, in a letter from one Nicholas Alen (Alenus), his tutor, to his father, January 25th, 1549-

* *MS. Charters*, Brit. Mus., 46 I. 29

50.* He speaks of his licentious mode of living, his idleness, his disregard of his (the tutor's) many discourses, which did not seem to make the youth a bit better. Then, he spends whole days drinking in taverns, and the time he should give to his studies he passes away at tennis, or wanders through the streets, even by night, in the company of "lost men," now from this and now from that craving money; nor would he go to public lectures, etc. The wayward youth, arrived at his prime manhood, gave a very unmistakable illustration of his character, now developed.

The time was prolific of adventure, stirring, and full of active life. Religious revolt was being fearfully repressed in the Netherlands under the express direction of Philip II; and by many in this country Spain must have been considered as a natural enemy. Froude's history relates that "Thomas Cobham was at this time roving the seas, half-pirate, half-knight errant of the Reformation, doing battle on his own account with the enemies of the truth, wherever the service to God was likely to be repaid with plunder. He was one of a thousand whom Elizabeth was forced, for decency's sake, to condemn and disclaim in proclamations, and whom she was as powerless as she was probably unwilling to interfere with in practice. What Cobham was and what his kind were may be seen in the story about to be told.

"A Spanish ship was freighted in Flanders for Bilbao, the cargo was valued at 80,000 ducats, and there were on board also forty prisoners, 'condemned,' as the Spanish account says, 'for heavy offences worthy of chastisement,' who were going to Spain to serve in the galleys. Young Cobham, cruising in the Channel,

* *Harl. MS.* 374, f. 5.

caught sight of the vessel, chased her down into the Bay of Biscay, fired into her, killed her captain's brother and a number of men, and, then boarding, when all resistance had ceased, sewed up the captain himself and the survivors of the crew in their own sails, and flung them overboard. The fate of the prisoners is not related; it seems they perished with the rest. The ship was scuttled, and Cobham made off with the booty, which the English themselves admitted to be worth 50,000* ducats, to his pirates' nest in the south of Ireland. Eighteen drowned bodies, with the mainsail for their winding-sheet, were washed up upon the Spanish shores, cruelty without example, of which but to hear was enough to break the heart. English hearts, in like manner, had been broken with the news of brothers, sons or husbands, wasting to skeletons in the Cadiz dungeons, or burning to ashes in the Plaza of Valladolid. But this fierce deed of young Cobham was no dream of Spanish slander; the English factor of Bilbao was obliged to reply to Chaloner's eager inquiries, that the story, in its essential features, was true. . . . Cobham was tried for piracy the next year at the indignant requisition of Spain. He refused to plead to his indictment; and the dreadful sentence was passed upon him of the *peine forte et dure*. His relations, De Silva said,

* This estimate seems to have come rather from the merchants of Antwerp, as, in a complaint to the Regent, they state that two ships and two zebras were attacked in the Bay of Biscay, and one ship and the zebras escaped, the other taken, her captain being slain. "Her cargo is worth 50,000 ducats, her crew of forty have been sent to the galleys," a surmise, of course, on their part, as there were none in England, and shewing they were ignorant of their fate. This took place in November, 1563.—Vide *Calendar State Papers*, Foreign Series, 46, Feb. 1564.

strained their influence to prevent it being carried into effect, and it seems that either they succeeded, or that Cobham himself yielded to the terror, and consented to answer. At all events, he escaped the death which he deserved, and was soon again abroad upon the seas."*

Close about the same time (March 13) at which this transaction is mentioned, comes another report, in a letter from Zealand by Gough to Gresham, stating that "two English pirates, one is Lord Cobham's brother, came in with a Spanish ship, whereof is much ado here," and, perhaps, it is this same which Guesten writes to Cecil about (March 14th, 1564) from Bilbao, wherein he says, "a ship of this town has been spoiled by Cobham, and a friar and another man killed;" and the transaction of Biscay is also alluded to. All this year he seems to have been active on the sea, and on August 24th we find him associated with Hawkins, as bound for Guinea and the Portugal Indies, there, without doubt, to be similarly engaged.

The sea was not a school of morals at this age, nor even later, and on all sides much of this licence was going on. Spain had little to expect from us, nor we from her. Thomas Brooke was a decidedly unquiet spirit, and in later years, as we shall see, was concerned in the conspiracy of the Duke of Norfolk and Mary Queen of Scots, and arrested by his own brother, Lord Cobham, on the night of the 14th of October, 1571. But whatever his guilt may have been, he escaped, and if we hear of him again it is possibly as the "Brooke," who, when the great Armada was flaunting by our coasts, and each port sent forth its patriotic volunteers eager for the fight, joined with Raleigh,

* Froude, vol. viii., pp. 447, 448.

and a number of others of noble names, to bear his part in this great drama of the time. He married Katharine, daughter of Sir William Cavendish, by whom he had issue a daughter, Frances, married to Arthur Mills, Esq.

Of Lord Cobham's other sons, John demands a brief notice. He was born April 22nd, 1534, and his education was under the care of Martin Bucer. In a letter from the latter dated Strasburg, May 6th, 1548, he speaks highly of his abilities and attainments.* At a later time he is spoken of as having distinguished himself as a soldier, in the wars of the Low Countries, during the momentous struggle for civil and religious liberty. But we hear complaints of him, too. William, Prince of Orange, writes to Elizabeth, March 16th, 1560-7, concerning his elopement from the island of Walcheren with one Lucretia de'Affetati, a lady under the especial protection of the Queen, who therefore was much offended at this affair.† And eleven years later we hear that "John Brooke, captain in her Majesty's service, keeps the whole pay of her soldiers from them; and that Mr. Henry Brooke has gotten Mr. Norton Green, a Roman Catholick, guilty of no other crime than disobedience to her Majesty, in not going to church, from whom he means to squeeze 2,000 marks before he shall have his libertie." Afterwards we find him in his own country, aiding in the preparations being made against the Armada, and a possible landing of the Duke of Parma. In May, 1584, John Cobham is named amongst the commissioners for the musters in the county of Kent, and seems to have been active in that service.

* *Harl. MS.* 374, f. 2.

† *Cott. MS.* Nero B. VI., f. 332.

He married Alice, daughter and heir of Edward Cobbe, Esq., widow of Sir John Norton, of Northwood, knight. He died September 25th, 1594, and was buried at Newington, Kent, where is a fine monument of alabaster to his memory, erected by his nephews, William and George, representing him in armour kneeling within a niche. The Lady Norton was also interred here, where still remains a brass representing her with two sons by her side, and a rhyming inscription, which speaks of her as "John Cobham's late and loving wife."

The last of whom a special mention is required, and, perhaps, the most distinguished of them all, was Henry, his seventh son. He was born February 5th, 1537. A good part of his life was employed in diplomacy at various Courts as Ambassador, but specially at those of France and Spain, where he proved himself an able public servant, sending home to Cecil much valuable information. In 1570-1 he was on an embassage to the Emperor at Vienna about a possible alliance of Elizabeth with the Archduke Maximilian, and also to the King of Spain. He was knighted by the Queen at the festivities of Kenilworth in July, 1575, and that same month went again as Ambassador to Spain. In 1579-80 he was sent to France, and whilst there sent to the Queen, as a new year's gift, "a cage of gold with hope in it," and was appointed a commissioner in 1582 with Sir Francis Walsingham and others to treat of the delicate business of the marriage of the Queen with Alençon. In a letter to Mr. Secretary Wilson he gives some account of his early life. When young he was dedicated by his father to the service of the Princess Elizabeth during the reign of Mary, and was educated under the Earl of

Devonshire. In referring to his various embassies, he stated that his pay was not sufficient to pay his expenses, nor did the Queen's gifts make up for the loss. In the twelfth of her reign, however, he received a grant of the site of the monastery of East Malling in Kent, of the yearly value of £100. He was knight of the shire for Kent in the twenty-eighth and thirty-first of this reign. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Sutton, knight, and widow of Sir Walter Haddon, principal master of the Court of Requests. The latter died January 21st, 1571-2. This lady once tried her own hand at diplomacy when at Paris, unknown to her husband, and made communications to the Earl of Leicester.*

Amongst the names of the sons it will have occurred that some are repeated. This may find explanation in the fact that four of them died young, viz., the elder Henry, the younger Edward, Edmund, and the younger Thomas. Of the daughters, Elizabeth, the eldest child, born on June 12th, 1526, demands most attention, chiefly on account of her marriage with William Parre, Marquis of Northampton, whose name has already appeared as concerned in Wyatt's Rebellion. He had been divorced from his first wife, Anne Bourchier, by the Ecclesiastical Court, on account of her adultery, and he then married the daughter of Lord Cobham, the Protestant canonists stating "that the band of wedlock being broken by the mere fact of infidelity, the second marriage was lawful." But in Mary's reign this decision was reversed, and the two were separated. It was one of the debatable scandals of the time. She

* The portrait of Sir Henry Brooke, already referred to, was engraved by Remigius Hagenbergh, 1582, and has been often mistaken for that of Henry, last Lord Cobham.

died in 1565, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Katharine, the youngest daughter, was born April 7th, 1544, and was married to John Jerningham, Esq. Her father alludes to her probable marriage in his will, 1552, when she was but a child. Being represented on the monument (1561), with the arms of Jerningham on her tabard, she must have been then already married, although but seventeen.

Mary died unmarried, and Anne at an early age.

It will have been seen how much the lives of the Lords of Cobham illustrate the different epochs of our history. The Barons' contest with the Crown, the wars with France, the wars of the rival houses, then the Reformation, which in its dawn found a victim among them, to the time of its struggle and the changing political arena, of which the late lord's life was an apt example. His death, so nearly coindent with that of Queen Mary, closes this period; for on the accession of Elizabeth, Protestantism again arises, and at the end of her reign may be said to have been firmly established. Now William Brooke, who comes next upon the scene, is a type of the new era, and identified with its success.

He was born November 1, 1527, the second child of the numerous family. And, as it has already been shewn that his father was alive to the growing necessities of a good education, it will be supposed that his heir would have special attention paid to his. And thus we find him at the early age of thirteen sent abroad with a tutor for this purpose. An interesting document is extant, preserved amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, relative to this journey, being a licence or passport to William Brooke, Lord

Cobham's eldest son, to travel beyond sea. It runs thus:—

"And wheras oure trustie and welbeloved William Broke, the eldest sonne of oure right trustie and wellbeloved the Lord of Cobham, is desirous and mynded to passe into the p'tes of beyond the sea there to contynue for his further encrease of vertue and lerning. We have you wit that we have licenced and by these pat's do licence him to passe unto the said p'tes of beyond the sea wth his two servants, three horses, twentie pounds in money, bagges and baggage, at his libertie.

"geven under our signet at o^r^ palace of Westm' the fourth day of June in the xxxiij yere of our raigne (1541)."

On this occasion his father drew up a rule of conduct for his observance during his absence, and the analogy between this and the advice given by Polonius is so strong that it becomes an interesting illustration to Hamlet. In both cases the father is a statesman and a courtier. It is headed—

"REMEMBRANCES TO MR. WILLIAM BROKE.

"1. Firste in the mornyng remembyr to serve God, thankyng hym for his benefitts and humblie desiryng his grace to aide and assiste you.

"2. It^m^ To heare Masse devoutlie upon yor knees and pray ferventlie at that tyme (all other fantasies and worldlie pleasures cleane sett apart), that your mynde and bodie may that tyme oonely be given to call upon Almightie God.

"3. It^m^ To applie yor lernyng diligentlie (and that of yor own mynde without any compulsion) yor lernyng shal be Civil Lawe, Rethoricke and Greke.

"4. It^m^ To be obedient in all pointes to yor Tutor and to doo nothyng without his advise and counsell.

"5. It^m^ To kepe yo^r^selfe chast and to take grete hede that ye sett no mynde or pleas^r^ upon the abhominable sin of lechery ever havyng in yor remembraunce the bounde of yor promesse of mariage and kepe yor vessell cleane according to the comandement of God.

"6. It^m To send lettres over to my Lorde into Englande so often as the comoditie of cariage shall serve you.

"7. It^m At vacant tymes to playe upon the lute or other instrumentes.

"8. It^m To marke well the best formes and maneres in the countrie and those to put in use and accustome yourselfe to the best.

"9. It^m To take heed that ye doo not speke to thicke, (*i.e.*, not too quick)."

"I wyl performe aull thes
thyngs bi the grace of God
by me your sonne
WYLLIAM BROKE."*

Item 7 is similar in spirit to the advice sent by Polonius to Laertes, as in Hamlet, act ii., sc. 1, "And bid him ply his music;" music evidently being at that time considered as a necessary accomplishment of a gentleman. Indeed, in Elizabeth's reign, England stood high amongst neighbouring nations in the knowledge of that science.

Item 5 shews that the youth of thirteen was already engaged to be married to Dorothy, daughter of George Nevil, Lord of Abergavenny.

There is a letter during their absence, from Edmonde Baller, his tutor, dated at Arey (?), a town in the neighbourhood of Calais, in which he acquaints his father of his son's inclination towards a military life; he being, it seems, a witness of the musters and preparations being made by the King's Commissioners; but after the matter had been fully considered, it was concluded he should "tarry and take such part as God shall send him."† A few years later he had an opportunity of displaying his martial ardour, and in 1549 was engaged in the war in France which ensued on the attempt to recover Boulogne, by taking advan-

* *Harl. MSS.*, 283, f. 171. † *Ibid.*, f. 133 b.

tage of the social distractions then shewing themselves in England. But peace being soon concluded, young Brooke's military career came to an end, nor does it appear that he ever again took up the sword, as his services were afterwards of a purely civil character. He was one of the esquires of the body to Edward VI, and was knighted a short time before his father's death, when he became the ninth Lord of Cobham.

It has already been shewn that he was implicated in Wyatt's rebellion, and how, with his father, he escaped the Queen's vengeance. This affair does not appear to have influenced her against him, for, on his becoming Lord of Cobham, he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of the Castle of Dover, and in these offices he was confirmed on the accession of Elizabeth, which took place the following year, viz. in 1558, and he was also appointed Chancellor of the Cinque Ports and the first permanent Lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent, all which offices he held until his death.

The first service he was called upon to render by the new sovereign was to go on an embassage in November to Philip of Spain, who was then at Brussels, to announce the decease of Queen Mary his wife, and her own accession to the throne. He was also to endeavour to renew the treaties with Spain. But the French were intriguing with the latter under the supposition that all interests between the two countries had ceased by the death of Mary. Lord Cobham writes to Elizabeth that "at Cercamp the French did not let to say and talk openly, how that your highness is not lawful Queen of England." Though Spain did not join with France, Lord Cobham did not seem to succeed in making with Philip any

direct or sincere alliance. The double dealing of this monarch, indeed, was but the too natural bent of his mind, as the envoy discovered at a later day.

Thus beginning, with honours falling like showers upon him, the Queen in her progress through Kent paid a visit to him at Cobham Hall in the month of July, 1559. This visit is especially described by Thynne in Holinshed's Chronicle, who tells us of—

"a banketing house made for hir maiestie in Cobham parke, with a goodlie gallerie therevnto composed all of greene with seuerall deuices of knotted flowers, supported on each side with a faire row of hawthorn trees, which nature seemed to haue planted there of purpose in summer time to welcome hir maiestie and to honor their lord and maister."

It was on the 22nd September this year (N.S.) he lost his first wife, whose daughter, an only child named Frances, was married to Thomas Coppinger.

On the 25th of February, 1559-60, he married his second wife, the daughter of Sir John Newton, and one of the ladies of the Queen's bedchamber. The marriage is thus quaintly described, and is a curious picture of manners:—

"Sundaye the 25th of februarye being Shrofsundaye 1559 A° sc'do Elizabeth Regine, the Quenes matie lyinge at her pallace of Westm' abowt x of the Clock the young lordes knightes & gentlemen of the Court cam' to the Chambre of the sayd Lord Cobham & Conductyd hym uppe into the Quenes grate clossett.

"And afterwarde she was fro' her chambre likewyse conductyd uppe to the seyd Clossett betweene Waltre viscount hereford & John lord Sheffelde bachelors, but shortlye after & in the same yere maryed, her trayne borne by a younge ladye.

"And after her followyd the ladye m'quys of Northampton & the ladye Strange wth a greate noumbre of other ladyes & gentleweomen, where they stayd in the seyd great clossett tyll the quene were com'. And then the p'cessyon was sunge wch ended the p'ceaded w' the Espousalls afore the quenes matie who stod nere by them & the Counsell & other lordes. Fyancyd by doctor Carloe Busshoppe

of Chychestre and the lord Will^{a}m howard, lorde Chamberlayne dyd geve her in thabsence of her father. And so the Fyauncyinge fullye Fynnisshyd they knealyd douwne agayne at a fourme in the seyd Clossett wherupon were bothe Cuyssheons & carpett leyd and the servyce beinge endyd she was agayne conductyd to her Dynynge chamber wch was the greate chambre wthin the Counsell chamber betweene James blunt, lord mountjoye & Edwarde wyndsor lord wyndsor, where was great fare & cheare, and after dinn' great Dauncynge & other pastyme untyll the Eveninge prayer and then to supper where suppyd wth the bryde the Right hon'able hyghe & mightye prynce John Duke of fyneland ye son to the kinge of Swethow who also had Dauncyd the Afternone wth the seyd Bryde for the more honoryng of the seyd maryage."

By this lady he had six children, the first a boy, being born on December 4th, the same year, at his house in Blackfriars. The ceremony of the christening has been handed down, and may follow as another illustration of the time. It took place only three days after the birth, a usual custom at this era. The Queen was one of twelve sponsors, and in this, as well as in many other acts, shewed herself a close friend to Lord Cobham, to whose lady she was probably much attached :—

"The Byrthe and Chrystenynge of maxymylyan fyrst son to Wyll^{a}m lord Cobh^{a}m & ladye his wyfe afore namyd.

"On Wenysday the iiijth of december 1560 A^{o} tercio Elizabeth Regine the sayd ladye lyinge at her howsse wthin the late Blacke Freeres at london abowt x of the Clocke in the fornone the seyd wenysdaye was delyv'ed of A sonne and on Setheredaye next Aftre in the Aftrenone toward the Evenynge she was caryed & conveyd to the Courte the Quenes Matie lyinge at her pallace of Westm' by Dyv'sse ladyes as the ladye Dacres of the Sowthe th'eldre & the ladye Dacres the younger her Doughter in lawe the Lady harte the ladye Broke the ladye Mason & dyv'sse other wth a greate companye of gentlemen of the seyd lords S^{r}vants & others where in the Quenes great clossett was prepared the Sylver Soute & all other thinges necessarye for the seyd Chrystenynge and there at the tyme of Eveninge prayer the Quenes ma^{tie} cam' & Crystenyd the same who

was godmother thereunto & namyd hyt Maxymylyan Wyll^m Parre m'quis of North^mpton & younge Erle of Arundell beinge the godfathers who after the Chrystenynge endyd there wasshyd & gave presents to the seyd Chylde as followeth."*

(List of presents not preserved.)

From the position which Lord Cobham held in the county, he was frequently called upon to perform the necessary courtesies to such distinguished foreigners as passed through it, on their way to the Court. We therefore find that, in September, 1565, he and Lord Abergavenny were ordered to attend at Dover to receive, on his landing, Christopher, the Prince and Margrave of Baden, with his wife Cecilia, sister to the King of Sweden, and to escort them to London. And it is notable, that Lady Cobham was also enjoined to accompany him, to do the necessary honours, though at this time she was within three months of her confinement, which took place on December 11th, when his fifth child, William, was born, and for whom the Princess Cecilia became one of the sponsors.

The next few years may be called the most troubled period of Elizabeth's reign, when conspiracies arose and were suppressed, and the cause of Mary Queen of Scots, as possible successor to the Crown, had, even in the Court itself, many adherents.

In the conspiracy of the Duke of Norfolk Lord Cobham was imprudent, but not otherwise guilty; though for some days he was retained a prisoner in Lord Burghley's house. He was indeed doing his duty as Warden of the Cinque Ports, examining Baily, Ridolfi's agent and one of the young enthusiasts in the cause of the Queen of Scots, and about to lay the papers discovered upon him before the Council.

* *Addit. MSS.* Brit. Mus. 6113, f. 201.

But that scapegrace brother Thomas was present—in fact, he had been arrested by Lord Cobham, and, throwing himself at his feet, besought with tears that he would not shew them to the Council, as it would be the undoing of the Bishop of Rosse. Lord Cobham hesitated, but at length yielded, and the letters found were placed in the Bishop's hands. Ultimately, however, when the whole plot was unravelled, he was exonerated, and even his brother, who had been committed to the Tower, was pardoned. The Duke, however, suffered death on Tower Hill, June 2, 1572, and although he protested his innocence, his guilt was amply proven.

It is clear that the incident did not affect the continuance of the Queen's friendship. For, in 1573, another progress through Kent being proposed, Lord Cobham's duty, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, required him to see into the sanitary condition of those towns, as well as to the general health of the county, and he applied to the Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain, respecting the "eyring and makinge swete of her Majestie's lodginges" in Dover Castle. In September, after paying a visit to her dockyard at Chatham, she went from Rochester to Cobham Hall, where, for two days, she was magnificently entertained, and there knighted James Hales, of Bekesbourne, and Humphrey Hales, of Woodchurch. Many evidences are extant of the friendly relations between the Queen and Lord and Lady Cobham, manifested at different times by presents on both sides. A new year's gift, presented by Lord Cobham on January 1, 1577-8, consisted of a petticoat "of yellow satten, layed all over with a parement*

* It is doubtful if this be written "parement" or "pasement." If the first, it would simply mean an ornamentation; if the second,

of silver, and tawney silk fringed with silver and silk, and lyned with tawney sarcenet." At the same time he received from her Majesty £10 in gold and in "guilt plate 20 oz.;" he had a similar gift also in 1588-9.

An interesting document is extant illustrating Lady Cobham's duties at the Court, which is preserved among the *Ashmole MSS.* (1148, f. 337). It is as follows:—

"This bill indented conteyneth certayn perles deliuered in charge by the Quenes ma^tie^ to the Lady Cobham the xviij^th^ of ffebruary 1570, being upon her ma^ties^ commaundement viewed wayed and examyned the last of June 1577 by John Louison of London goldsmith and Will'm Neale one of her ma^ties^ auditors. And aftre the said examynac'on left in charge wth the said La: Cobham the said last of June in the presence of Mr Secretary Walsingham untill it should please her ma^tie^ to take furdre ordre for the disposinge of them."

Here follows the list of pearls, and attached to this bill, and forming fol. 336 b of the MS. is a piece of paper indorsed:—

"Geven the Earle of Lester on Newe yeres Daye A^o^ xvij R. R^e^ Elizabeth 1574."

The paper is bruised through and through, apparently by the gold-setting of the pearls thus mentioned. It is indorsed:—

"Wt. carretts 13 di'

"(Geven) to me on newe yeres morninge a perll by the Q. ma^e^ pear fashio' which semed owt (?) this paper beinge of ye weyzt above named.

R. LEYCESTER."

The public services of Lord Cobham were now directed into an important arena. The terrible struggle in the Netherlands for civil and religious liberty had already long endured, when Elizabeth, who was always dreaming of peace which never came, despatched

a kind of lace. See Halliwell's *Archaic Dictionary*—"Parements" and "Passamen."

Lord Cobham and Sir Francis Walsingham in August, 1578, to the governor Don John of Austria, to effect, if possible, a pacification. But their first interview was not assuring, for Don John utterly refused to accept the terms offered by the States, nor did the envoys succeed in some further efforts. "They then expressed their intention of returning to England, much grieved at the result of their mission. The governor replied that they might do as they liked, but that he, at least, had done all in his power to bring about a peace." After further but yet more unsatisfactory debates, the ambassadors took their leave. This conference took place on the 24th of August, and Lord Cobham and Walsingham addressed a letter to the States General deploring the disingenuous conduct of the governor, and begging that the failure might not be attributed to them; after which they returned to England.

At home, again, in 1580, amenities pass between him and the Corporation of Rochester, which sent him a present of three salmon, at two different times, they receiving in return half a buck, for the venison of Cobham Park was in esteem. In 1582 he added to Cobham Hall, as also to his house in Blackfriars, and afterwards carried out "the rare garden at Cobham Hall, in which no varietie of strange flowers and trees do want, which praise or price maie obteine from the furthest part of Europe or from other strange countries wherby it is not inferior to the garden of Semiramis." It was an age of great improvement in this particular, and many gardens were at this time established in England for the cultivation of exotic plants.

On the 2nd of February, 1585-6, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and on the 14th of April was

made Knight of the Garter. In this year also he was in the commission for enquiring into the authorship of *Martin Marprelate*, and in 1587 into the plots of Mary Queen of Scots, who still continued to cause alarm to the government.

Ten years had now passed away since Lord Cobham's embassy to the Netherlands. Years of horror and bloodshed to that unfortunate country, but of much heroism, in which our countrymen took part, of whom many a noble life was lost in desperate fight upon the dykes. Now, in the momentous year of 1588, the Earl of Derby, Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, Doctors Valentine Dale and John Rogers, having also in their company Robert Cecil, a young man of twenty-five years of age, arrived at Ostend in February, as commissioners to treat of peace with Farnese, Prince of Parma. A more solemn farce was scarcely ever enacted. Farnese's part was to delay and delude, and he did it to perfection, well seconded by his astute commissioners, Count Aremberg, Champagny, Richardot, and Secretary Garnier. Hardly a day passed but they sent presents of a hare, or pheasant, or a cast of hawks, having in return barrels of oysters—but as to business, nothing. But it was a crowning act of audacity when the Prince, disguised as a menial, came to Ostend during a feasting given to the commissioners, and surveyed the defences. Philip wrote to the latter, "keep the negociations alive until my Armada appears, and then carry out my determination, and replant the Catholic religion on the soil of England." So well were the delusions maintained, that if the author of Hudibras is right in saying,

> "Doubtless the pleasure is as great
> Of being cheated, as to cheat,"

the commissioners must have been perfectly satisfied with each other.

The mist now passed from the Queen's eyes, as well as from those of the most easy of the commissioners. Shortly after their return home, the great Armada was in the Channel riding in triumph, until those true descendants of sea kings, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and others came upon it. What ensued is a memorable passage in our history. Schiller's words express the result.

> "Gott, der Allmächt'ge, blies,
> Und die Armada flog nach allen Winden."*

Lord Cobham's life from this time was that of a courtier or peer, but attending to those important duties in his county incumbent on him from his position and the offices he held. The defence of the country during the critical state of affairs between England and Spain, as far as regarded the coast of Kent, naturally called for his services, and orders of the Council were addressed to him accordingly, on many occasions, in respect to levies of men, the firing of beacons, etc., in cases of alarm.

His wife, Lady Frances, died at Cobham on October 17, 1592, and was interred within the church with much ceremony, the details of which are preserved in the College of Arms. During the same year, he received a grant of the custody of the Palace and Park of Eltham, and two years later, in 1594, the advowson of the hospital of the Holy Rood near Winchester. He was on the commission of 1593 to enquire into the proceedings of the Jesuits and other enemies, which seems to have concluded his public life.

* Which is but a translation of the motto on the medal struck to commemorate the event: "Afflavit Deus et dissipati sunt."

During the greater part of his life, he was constantly adding to or rebuilding Cobham Hall, and in 1595, he had permission from Henry IV of France to import Caen stone to be used in these works. On the 24th of January, 1596-7, his daughter Elizabeth, one of twins, who in 1589 had married young Robert Cecil, died, to the great grief of her father. She was buried in Westminster Abbey by command of the Queen, and he bore the great banner at her funeral. An altar tomb of alabaster covers her remains in the chapel of St. Nicholas. This event seems to have hastened his own end, as he died the 6th of March following at the age of 71.

In his will he directs his body "to be buried in Cobham church without vayne pomp;" nevertheless we have proof that it must have taken place with considerable heraldic display, and among those who attended was Sir Walter Raleigh, with whom he had been on terms of friendship, and the Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral.* The tomb of his father had many pendant escutcheons placed around it, and, it is extremely probable, that either his body was placed temporarily within it, or that it was put into a vault beneath. That no memorial whatever of him exists must be due to those circumstances which soon afterwards ensued, and thus we are left in ignorance of the spot in which his remains repose.†

* Vide *Lansd. MS.*, 874, art. Cobham Church. The will of Lord Cobham is printed in full in Vol. XI. of *Archæologia Cantiana*, with notes by the Rev. Canon Scott Robertson.

† It was evidently the intention of his son to erect a tomb to his memory, as the following entry shews. In 1601 R. Williams recommended that Giles de Whitt should be set to work on some new chimney pieces, or his *lordship's father's tomb*, that he may maintain himself.—*Calendar of State Papers*, p. 139, No. 64. The name of the workman here mentioned seems to be Flemish.

Sir William was a patron of literature, and may have merited the title of a Mæcenas which is applied to him by Holinshed. The following works were dedicated to him, viz., Thomas Newton's *Translations of Levinus Lemnius, De Habitu et Constitutione Corporis*, &c., &c.; Paul Ives' translation of William de Bellay's *Instruction for the Warres and his own Practice of Fortifications*. London, 8vo, 1589. Also, *The Historical Description of the Islande of Britayne*, compiled by William Harison (his household chaplain) attached to Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Many of the eminent men of this, the Augustan age of our literature, were his personal friends. It is hardly possible but that he must have known something of Shakespeare himself, for his house in Blackfriars was in close vicinity to the Playhouse of which the poet had a share, and where many of his plays were produced. Of his charitable acts we must record the refounding of the College at Cobham for the use of the poor. The hall and many other portions of the existing buildings must be part of the original foundation, but other parts were doubtless added. On the south side, there are some ruined walls with an arch overhung with ivy, and the escutcheon of Lord Cobham having the following inscription beneath it:—

"The new College of Cobham in the countie of Kent was founded for the reliefe of the Poore at the charge of the Right Honorable the . . . Sir William Brook, Knight of the Garter, Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Portes, Lieutenant for the same Countie to . . . excellent Matie of Elizabeth Queene of England one of her High Privie Cou'cel and Chamberlayne of Her most Honble Houshold. He died 6th March 1596. This was finished 7 Sept. 1598."

All the buildings in connection with this ruin are now gone, but traces of the foundations are visible

in dry seasons, and there is the remains of a fire-place.

His eldest son, Maximilian, at whose coming into the world there was such ceremony of good omen, bid fair for a good career. He had ability, and during his absence abroad is said to have sent valuable information to Cecil. But he died at Naples, December 5, 1583, being 23 years of age, and was buried in the hospital "degli Incurabili" of that city.

William, his sixth child, whose birth has already been alluded to, was spoken of as a "comlie youth disposed to follow the Court." He was knight of the shire for Kent in 1597, and was killed in a duel at Mile End Green by the son and heir of Thomas Lucas, of Essex, Knight. The fate of his son George will presently be alluded to.

Henry Brooke, second son of Sir William, was born at Cobham Hall November 22, 1564, and Holinshed speaks of him as "a gentleman of whom great hope is conceived that his following yeares giving increase to his good parts by nature and to the like gift of the languages by education will not onelie make him a beneficiall member to his commonwealth, but also a person worthy of such a father." On the death of his father in 1597, he succeeded to the Cobham Barony at the age of 33. He seemed to be fortune's favourite, for honours fell rapidly upon him. In 1598, he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, which, as has been shewn, was so often held by his ancestors. At his inauguration at Canterbury, there was a display of more than feudal grandeur, it being attended by 4,000 horse, and he kept the feast very magnificently. In the following year, he was made a Knight of the Garter, as his father and grand-

father had been before him,* and was in high personal favour with his Sovereign.

In fact the duties which had been fulfilled by his father seemed to fall naturally on him, and, in August 1599, he received orders respecting the quartering of 12,000 men in Kent, 6,000 of whom were to be drawn from the ordinary bands of the county, as invasion was apprehended on the side of Spain or Flanders. The same kind of courtesies, as occurred with his father, also passed between him and the Queen, for on January 1, 1599-1600, he presented to her, as a new year's gift, "a rounde kyrtell of silver tabyne,† with starres and droppes of gold tyssue,"‡ and on the same occasion a present of gilt plate. On the 16th of June, in the same year, he entertained her Majesty at Blackfriars, whither she came to do honour to the marriage of Henry, Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Worcester, with Ann, daughter and heir of John, Lord Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford. The Queen was received at the river side by Lord Cobham, with whom were six knights, bearing a litter, in which she was conveyed to Lady Russell's house, where she dined. The supper and a masque were given by Lord Cobham. This procession is represented

* An account of the ceremony of this instalment at Windsor, on the 6th of June, is preserved in Ashmole MS. (1112, f. 17). With Lord Cobham were also Robert, Earl of Sussex, and Thomas, Lord Scrope. It concludes as follows:—"About a quarter of an hour after him (Lord Scrope) came the Lord Cobham, although the last, yet most bravest, his gentlemen in purple velvett breeches, and white satin doubletts, and chains of gold; and his yeomen in purple cloth breeches, and white fustian doubletts, all in blew coates, faced with white taffeta and fethers of white and blewe." According to the custom he gave William Dethick, Garter, "an annuity of 40s. and a fat buck yearly at the season to be taken of my parke at Cobham."

† A kind of silk. ‡ See Nichols' *Progresses*, etc.

in a well-known painting preserved at Sherborne Castle, wherein Lord Cobham is seen bearing the Sword of State before the Royal litter.*

The ladies of the Court speculated, and quarrelled as to which of them was to be "the Lady of Cobham." It was at one time whispered, that he was about to marry the great heiress, Sir John Spencer's daughter, who afterwards became Lady Compton, and have with her £12,000; but the two, who seemed to reckon most on their pretensions, were Mrs. Ratcliff and Frances, daughter of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and widow of Henry, Earl of Kildare. Rowland White writes to Sir Robert Sydney, that—

"Mrs. Ratcliff hath kept her chamber these four daies, being somewhat troubled at my Lady Kildare's unkind usage of her, which is thought to proceed from her love to my Lord Cobham."

But this poor lady died soon after, and was buried at Westminster, November 23, 1599, Lord Cobham, with others of the nobility, being present. Then we hear that—

"Lord Cobham hath wrenched his foot and unable to go out, which much troubled Lady Kildare. Hearing that Raleigh had come to court from him just when the Queen's diet was sent for, she sent for him to come unto her in all hast, els the well carving the Queens meate would be mar'd for that day; she wishes an end of it, but it seems he finds delay for it."

His Lordship was evidently but a lukewarm lover. Again, July 12, 1600, Lord Cobham and Raleigh had gone to the States camp. Lady Kildare took it very heavily, and kept her room the first day†—so ran the Court gossip. But as the lady had now no rivals, time eventually brought about the desired result, and the

* See account of picture by Scharf, in vol. xxiii. of the *Journal of the Archæological Institute.*

† See Collins' *Letters and Memorials of State.*

contract was made before the Queen, May 27, 1601. The union, however, was not a happy one, and was soon to be abruptly dissolved. On the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1603, James of Scotland ascended the throne, and immediately plots arose against him. It is a dark and obscure passage of English history. Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh were said to be involved in what was styled, in the jargon of the day, "The treason of the Main," and were tried and condemned to death, as well as the Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Griffin Markham, and George Brooke, Lord Cobham's brother, with others.

George Brooke was beheaded at Winchester, December 5, 1603; Lord Cobham and the rest had their sentence commuted to imprisonment for life, after a disgraceful scene had been enacted upon the scaffold, in which the unhappy men were subjected to considerable mental torture, Raleigh looking on from the windows of the castle.*

Lord Cobham was reconducted to the Tower December 15, 1603, and there lay for fifteen years, and, as our history stands, is said then to have been allowed to walk out, and to have died in extreme want and squalid misery. The story, as told by Sir Antony Weldon, is as follows:†—"His death was base, for he died lousy, for want of apparel and linen: and had starved, had not a trencher-scraper, sometime his servant in court, relieved him with scraps, in whose house he died, being so poor a house as he was forced to creep up a ladder into a hole to his chamber." The writer then makes a desperate effort at a pun, saying, "The King was cheated of what should

* See account in *Archæologia*, vol. xxi., p. 170.

† Court of King James, pp. 342, 348.

have escheated to him, that he could not give him any maintenance as in all cases the King doth, unless out of his revenues of the crown, which was the occasion of this Lord's want: (the wife being very rich would not give him the crumbs that fell from her table.)" All this is very circumstantial and very fit for the Romance of the Peerage, in which it duly finds its place; but it is all false. Very many of Lord Cobham's letters from the Tower are extant* in which he addresses the Lord Treasurer, for the time being, for his monthly and quarterly allowance, which, added together, make up a sum of £516 per annum. We have a document in our Records† which shews that after his death money, which he had not spent, was returned to his assignees. It is indeed marvellous, that so absurd a tale should ever have obtained credence at all, letting alone its having become part of the gravity of history.‡

On his recommittal to the Tower he amused himself with classical study, making translations from Seneca and dedicating them to Cecil, his brother-in-law, with feeble hopes of release. But Cecil hated him, and was not above bargaining for shares in the estates.§ So hope died within him, and he became as lost to the outer world. One of his letters from

* Penès F. C. Brooke, Esq.

† Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer (James I.)* Lond. 1836, 4to, pp. 224, 225.

‡ A full examination of all the circumstances, accompanied by transcripts of letters, etc., was communicated in a paper, by the author, read before the Society of Antiquaries, December 6, 1877.

§ Motley in his valuable *History of the United Netherlands* (vol. iv., p. 143; London, 1867), makes quite a mistake when he speaks of Cecil, on the authority of a foreigner, as "being too rich, too powerful to be bribed," for *his own letters* to the Lord Treasurer for

the Tower on May 5, 1618, shews that he was then seriously ill. Not only does it allude to his physicians, but his signature is almost unintelligible, having evidently been written with extreme difficulty. In September following, he is allowed to go to Bath attended by his keeper, whence returning back, as it was said, cured, he was seized with palsy at Odiham in Hampshire, and conveyed to Sir Edward Moore's* house, where for some time he lay. Of the living man we hear no more, but in the following January he is said to have died in the Tower according to a legal document of a later date. Where his body found a resting-place we cannot find, but we know it lay some time awaiting the last of human charities for want of money.† But the Lady Kildare, his widow, seemed to make no sign, though living at Cobham Hall. The King too, enters his prison house and seizes "1000 volumes of good books of all learning and languages," which had been the solace of his imprisonment.‡

As to the allegation of the King being cheated, the statement is most unfortunate. By the will of George, Lord Cobham, 1552, the estates were so elaborately entailed, that the Crown could only be entitled to a life interest after the attainder. This the King immediately sold to Duke Brooke for

money for *secret service* rendered, shew that he was well alive to getting money in whatever way he could, and that he bargained successfully in obtaining possession of some of the Cobham estates there is proof. He was quite right, however, when he speaks of the "terrible hunchback, who never forgave, nor forgot to destroy his enemies."

* *Calendar of State Papers*, 1618, p. 515. This gentleman had married Frances, Lord Cobham's sister, and widow of Lord Stourton.

† *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1618, p. 8.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 590.

£10,669 (May 4, 1605);* and, to understand this transaction, we must recall that the immediate heirs were the three young and friendless children of George Brooke, who was executed at Winchester. Now the Crown had usually waived the absolute claim by which the innocent were attaint in blood, and restored the heir, possibly through the jealousy of Parliament. But King James knew nothing of the prerogative of mercy, so nobly taught by the great and then living poet—the mercy which is "twice blessed, which blesseth him that gives and him that takes." He went in for his bond—his pound of flesh. The infants, whose innocence might have pleaded for them, were not thought of. It was some years later, in 1610, after he had done his best to beggar them, that he restored them in blood. But it was bitter irony that, in this Act, a strict clause was inserted, that William Brooke, the heir, was *not* to claim *any* of the property of his father, nor of that of Henry Lord Cobham, nor was he ever to assume the title of Lord of Cobham without the King's especial grace, which was never accorded.

What would have been the consequences if the Crown had at all times carried out this system? Why, one-half the roll of our nobility would have gone. The Percies, Fitzalans, Beauchamps, Stanleys, Berkeleys, Staffords, and many others would have left but their names, their place in the Baronage a blank. Their power as the second estate would have merged into a mere shadow, and the course of our social history might have been altogether changed.

Thus the great feudal barony passes away like an insubstantial dream. William Brooke seems almost

* Vide Collections, penès F. C. Brooke.

like a phantom on the scene, or as an *ignis fatuus*, now visible, now eluding the mental vision. A Peer by the law of the land, but with no title; by law entitled to large estates, yet not allowed to claim them. A writer gravely mentions the having heard one say he had seen him *dance*, as if by that to prove his existence. Scarcely one of his ancestors but had not played a part in his country's history. But shall we not record an act of his in accordance with these traditions of his family?

William Brooke was knighted, and a small pittance was granted to him out of the large estates to which he was the heir, which included the advowson of Cowling. He was married twice, first to Pembroke, daughter of Henry Lennard, first Lord Dacre; secondly to Penelope, daughter of Sir Moyses Hill, Bart., and by her had three daughters—Hill, Margaret, and Frances. He represented Rochester in 1628, at that time being thirty years of age. And now, year by year, was the long-accumulating cloud growing blacker and blacker, and more ready to burst. Great issues were at stake, which were to define our future history. King James had taught kingcraft, and his son followed in his steps, but to be the victim. Sir William chose his side, in a spirit similar to his ancestors with De Montfort and in the repression of Richard II., and he died a soldier's death at Newbury in 1643, or from the wounds he received in that battle, fighting on the side of Parliament. Thus, then, with the rightful heir of Cobham lying dead upon the field of Newbury, the curtain appropriately falls as upon the last scene of a great tragedy. In him the barony by writ became extinct, and no more "than a tale that is told."*

* The resuscitation of the title in the person of Sir John Brooke in 1645 was a Barony by Patent, and not a continuation.

There are in Cobham Church several brasses commemorating Masters of the College, or chantry priests. The earliest of these lying in the chancel is a demi-figure, elegantly engraved, representing a priest in surplice, over which is a large tippet or almuce with hood, having a fringe of acorn shape, and lappets in front, and fastened on the breast with an ornamental morse. The inscription is as follows:

Hic iacet Will'ms Tannere qui prim' obijt magister istius Collegij xxij° die Mensis Junij Anno d'ni M°cccc°xvij° cuius Anime propicietur deus Amen.*

The next in point of date is in the nave, and consists of a figure of a priest in cassock, surplice, almuce and cope, finely executed. It is to the memory of the next Master who succeeded Tannere, and died in 1420, for the inscription, which is as follows, has no date:—

Hic iacet Magist' Joh'es Gladwin quond'm Magist' istius Collegij cuj' ai'e p'picietur deus Ame'.

Over the head are scrolls; on one is:

In die judicij libera me d'ne

Beneath this—"With mercy . . . . and grace," and below the inscription—"Ihu' mercy . . . lady help."

The succeeding Master, William Hobson, had a brass with demi-figure in the chancel, but only half of the old inscription remains, the rest having been restored. The restoration is shewn in italics, and is taken from Holinshed.

Hic iacet D'ns Will'm*us Hobson quondam* Mag'ri (*sic*) istius Collegi*j qui obijt xxj die* Augusti A° d'ni mcccc*lxxiij cuius aie* p'picietur deus.

This inscription was discovered to be *palimpsest*,

* Tannere was not the first master, as from the inscription some might infer; he was the first who died in that office, "qui primus obiit Magister."

which is so far curious, that it is of rare occurrence at this early date, having this fragment on the reverse:

Hic iacent magist' . . . .
Obijt xx° die mens' . . . . .
Ac' Isabella 't Agne . . . . .

John Sprotte, another Master, who died in 1499, is also commemorated by a brass in the chancel. The inscription is a restoration from a drawing by Fisher, preserved in the British Museum. It consists of a figure rather coarsely executed, habited in cassock, almuce, and cope; the inscription at foot as follows:—

Hic iacet d'ns Joh'es Sprotte quondam Magist' istius Collegij qui obijt xxv die me's Octobris A° d'ni M°cccclxxxxviij cuius ai'e p'picietur de'

In the north aisle is the matrix of a very elegant brass, consisting of a cross flory and figure within it, of which remains but this inscription—it is to John Gerye, a fellow of the college, who died 1447:—

Hic iacet Joh'es G*erye quonda' Soci*us huj' Collegij qui obijt vij° Idus Julij Anno d'ni m°cccc°xlvij *cuj' ai'e* propicietur deus Amen.

Let into the external wall of the north aisle is a piece of sculpture in relief—an angel holding an inscription. It is very much defaced, but the latter reads thus—the italics shewing that part now indistinct:—

Of your charitie pray for the sole of Robart Holte the whyche dyed the xiij day of Septembre A° d'ni M° V' iij *on whos solle Ihu' haue mercy.*

Of other inscriptions from memorials now gone, there is record preserved of the following:—

Here lieth Anne Cobham daughter to William Cobham of Hoo and wyffe to Edmund Irysh wch died anno domini 1563.

Also the following elaborate family memorial:—

Hic jacet Joh'es Claveringge quondam fili' Rogerij Claveringge

civis et pannarij civitatis Londoni. Orate p' a'iabz p'dict' Joh'is Claveringge Juliane 't alicie uxor' eius et filior' eor' p'd'ci Rogerij Claveringge et Joh'e uxor' eius patris 't matris p'd'ci Joh'is Claveringge fratru' et soror' suor' 't filior' eor' eciam Anne Westby et Matilde matris eius et nostri genitoris et Joh'is de Branderood Thome Legge et Simonis filij et pro animabz omni' benefactor' memor' et omniu' fideliu' defunctoru' quor' animabz propiciet' deus Amen.

The restoration of the monuments at Cobham was made at the cost of F. C. Brooke, Esq., of Ufford, Suffolk. The authorities for arms and inscriptions, as well as for certain details of the monument of George, Lord Cobham, are found in Lansdowne MS. 874, Brit. Mus., and in Glover's MS., in the College of Arms, also Harl. MS. 6587. The fragments of the tomb were first collected and arranged by the late Charles Spence, Esq., of the Admiralty, and the late John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A.; to the services of the latter we were indebted for identifying the heraldry to each of the smaller figures. The final work in 1865-6 was under the general direction of the writer of this article.

MINSTER CHURCH.

THE architectural merits of St. Mary's Church, at Minster in Thanet, fully accord with the dignity which it formerly possessed, as the mother church of one half* of the Isle of Thanet. The handsome churches of St. Lawrence, St. Peter, and St. John the Baptist, all mainly built in the twelfth century, were chapelries, appendant to St. Mary of Minster. Sir Stephen Glynne, who was an admirable judge, pronounced St. Mary's to be "unquestionably one of the very finest churches in the county." Its total length, inside, is 160½ feet, from the west wall of the tower to the east wall of the chancel. The length of the transepts, from north to south, is 85 feet 1 inch. The total width of the nave and aisles, together, is 49½ feet; and the width of the chancel is 21 feet 10 inches.

The dedication of this church, to St. Mary, forms the only remaining trace of a Conventual establishment which was founded in Minster, about A.D. 670,† by a royal widow named Ermenburga, *alias* Ebba, *alias* Dompneva.‡ Canon Jenkins has admirably elucidated the history of this lady, and of her foundation here.§ She and her daughter, St. Mildred, successive Abbesses of the Nunnery, were both interred within the monastery of St. Mary, and an unknown saint named Florentius was buried in the cemetery of St.

* Reculver was the mother church of St. Nicholas at Wade, and of All Saints. Monkton was the mother church of Birchington, and of Woodchurch *alias* Acolte.

† *Historia Monasterii Sci. Augustini Cantuariensis* (Edit. C. Hardwick), p. 6.

‡ *Ibidem, p.* 226.

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, XII, 182 *et seq.*

Mary in Thanet.* Nevertheless, within sixty or seventy years from its foundation, this Nunnery of St. Mary, being too small, was supplemented by the erection, upon a different site, of a larger establishment. That new building was the work of Edburga, the third Abbess, who caused it to be dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul.

To the new church, of that new Nunnery, Edburga is said to have translated the body of St. Mildred from its tomb at St. Mary's; and in that new church of Saints Peter and Paul, Edburga herself was buried in A.D. 751.†

The second Nunnery was destroyed, by the Danes, *circa* A.D. 830 or 840;‡ and, after that period, there was no convent of any kind in Minster.§

Thomas of Elmham is our authority for saying that there may be a connection between the site of the existing Church of St. Mary, and the site of St. Mary's Nunnery which was founded in A.D. 670, but was supplanted before A.D. 751 by the newer foundation dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul. Writing about A.D. 1414, Thomas of Elmham says that Dompneva founded her Nunnery "in the southern part of Thanet, near the water, in that place where now stands the parish Church of the Virgin Mary *(Dei Genitricis et Virginis)*."|| This statement he repeats upon a later page:—"*De templo Sanctæ Mariæ in Thaneto, quod tunc fuit ubi nunc parochialis ecclesia remanet.*"¶

Although the church is cruciform, its Norman tower stands at the west end of the nave. Arcades, each consisting of five round arches, separate the nave from its north and south aisles. The vaulted chancel is of the Early English period; the north and south transepts of the same period were not vaulted until recently. At the point where the transepts cross the body of the church, it is probable that the Early English architect intended to have erected a tower; he vaulted the roof of this central portion.

* *Hist. Mon. Sci. Augustini*, p. 223, § 34 and § 35.
† *Ibidem*, pp. 220, 223.
‡ *Ibidem*, p. 222.
§ Lewis, *Hist. of Tenet*, has by inadvertence inserted, near the bottom of p. 57, a paragraph which makes the last Abbess Siledritha succeed in 797, and live until 1011.
|| *Hist. Mon. Sci. Aug.*, p. 215.
¶ *Ibidem*, p. 218.

INTERIOR OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, MINSTER, THANET.

Upon entering the church, the most casual observer can see that the nave arcades, each containing five round-headed arches, are of two or three periods. The three easternmost arches, on each side, are much more ornate than their two plain western neighbours. Nor is this the only sign of difference. The walls supported by the two western arches are 14 inches thicker than those above the three eastern bays of the arcades. These thicker walls extend from the tower into the nave about 26 feet. At the line of junction with the thinner walls, on each side, there is consequently a curious and unsightly set-off. The piers of the three eastern arches are but 7 feet 5 inches in circumference, while the pier between the two westernmost arches is 9 feet 5 inches in girth. On the south side, the huge pier which stands at the line of junction between the thicker (3 feet 6½ inches) and thinner (2 feet 4½ inches) walls, is particularly clumsy, and indicates very clearly the later addition of three bays to the nave.

There are considerable differences between the north and south arcades, and between the north and south aisles. The mouldings of the western portion of the arch adjacent to the tower, in the south arcade, shew an additional thickness of wall there, which is not seen on the north. On comparing the two arcades we find that while the walls, and the detached piers, are of similar thickness in both, the spans of four arches on the north side vary from 10 feet to 10½ feet in width, while those upon the south side are all of them less than 10 feet wide.* The north aisle is 26 inches wider than the south aisle; the dimensions being, from arcade-pier to wall, 12 feet 5 inches on the north, and 10 feet 3 inches on the south. The wider bays of the north arcade, and the greater width of the north aisle, may indicate that it was added later than the south aisle. This idea is much supported by the fact, that an early dogtooth moulding appears upon the three easternmost arches of the north arcade, as their sole ornament, and their pier-caps are of transitional character; while the corresponding arches on the

* Mr. Bubb's measurements shew the northern spans to be (commencing at the west end) 9 feet 6 inches; 10 feet 4 inches; 10 feet 6 inches; 10 feet 5 inches; and 10 feet. The corresponding spans on the south side are 9 feet 10 inches; 9 feet 10 inches; 9 feet 6 inches; 9 feet 10¼ inches; 9 feet 10¾ inches.

south have only chevron and billet ornaments, and their pier-caps are of earlier character. The nave seems to have attained its present form about A.D. 1160 or 1170.

Upon close examination of the older and thicker walls, at the west end of the nave, we find traces of a remote period, when those walls were unpierced; that is, when there were no aisles. From the centre of the nave we see, in the south arcade, above the second pier from the west, the upper portion of the interior arch of a Norman window. Turning into the north aisle, we see, in a similar position over the north arcade, the upper portion of the exterior arch of another Norman window. Both these windows, in the earlier and thicker walls, were originally exterior windows; but they were necessarily destroyed when these earlier walls were pierced for the addition of aisles.

Mr. Bubb informs me that, during the work of restoration in 1863, foundations of a cross wall, running from north to south, were discovered beneath the floor of the nave, at the line of junction where the thicker and thinner arcade-walls unite. This cross wall, about five feet thick, was seen by Mr. Bubb, by Mr. May the clerk, and by others.

We seem thus to learn that, during the first period of the existence of the nave's thicker arcade walls, they did not extend more than twenty-six or thirty feet eastward from the site of the existing tower. They were then exterior walls, having round-headed windows, of fair size, and moderately splayed. Were they then the walls of a chancel? They may have formed the chancel of the church, in the eleventh century; but whether they were erected early in that century (before the Norman Conquest) or late in that century, there is no evidence to determine.

We then find that these thicker walls were pierced and their windows blocked up. It is quite possible, and not improbable, that the south wall was pierced, and a south aisle added, while the north wall was still unchanged. If so, the addition of the wider north aisle, and the arcade of wider bays, would occur at a later period, in the history of these walls.

Whether either of these periods synchronized with the

MINSTER CHURCH, THANET, FROM THE SOUTH WEST.

MINSTER CHURCH, THANET, FROM THE NORTH EAST.

addition of the thinner arcade-walls, of the eastern portion of the nave, it is difficult to decide. It may be possible either that they were added when the south aisle was formed, or that they were added, first, as external walls, before aisles were made. It is said that in the eastern portions of the arcades there were Norman windows above the arches. I am told that the interior openings of these windows were seen in 1854, when the walls were bare, during the incumbency of the Rev. R. T. Wheeler. The nave has a lofty king-post roof, probably of the fifteenth century.

The Norman tower of four stages, three of them pierced with round-headed windows, is, on the outside, 22 feet 2 inches square at its base, but on the interior it is 14¼ feet square. Its height, to the top of the battlements, is 61½ feet, and at its top it measures 19 feet 6 inches from north to south, and 18 feet from east to west, within the battlements. For these and all other measurements, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Robert Bubb, who has afforded me much information. His figures give a fair approximation to the actual dimensions. The tower walls, which at base seem to be nearly four feet thick, become less solid above. In the belfry loft, about half way up the tower, its west wall is 3 feet 6½ inches thick, and the east wall 3 feet 3¼. The tower has shallow buttresses, of three stages, with Norman strings continued across them. On the north and south sides, the buttresses stand within three or four inches of the angles; but on the west side, they are further from the angles of the tower. Above the tower is a spire which, at its base, is 41 feet in circumference. One ancient and four "Caroline" bells hang in the Tower.*

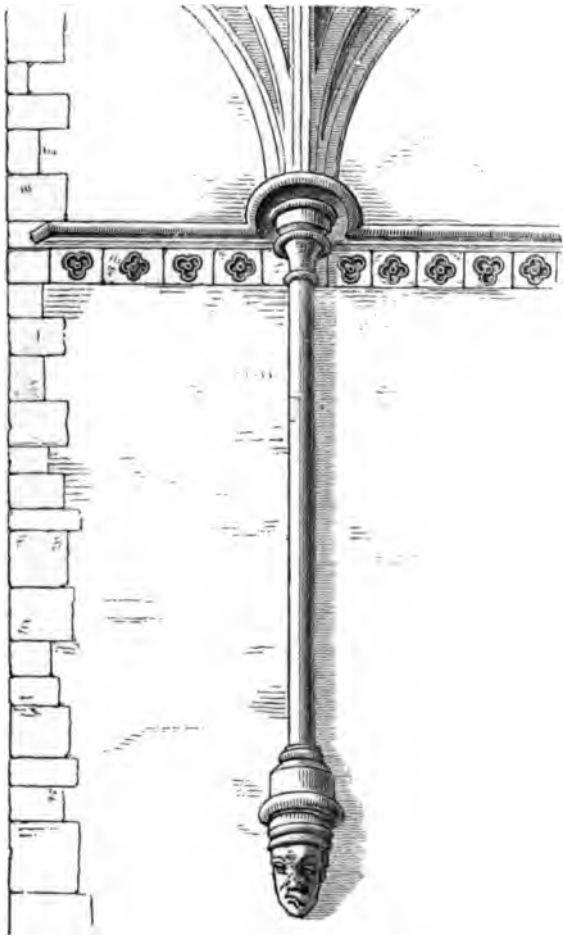
The Norman arch by which the tower opens into the nave is 22 feet 2 inches high, from floor to soffit. This is the exact length of each side of the tower's base. Considerably above this tower-arch, there is a large Norman window, looking into the nave from the belfry loft.

At the south east angle of the tower, but overlapping it eastward, there is a large turret, 7 feet 7 inches square.

* Mr. Bubb tells me that the treble is dated 1636; No. 2, 1626; No. 3, 1660; No 4 is ancient and is inscribed *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis*; No. 5 is dated 1636.

It is built of unwrought stone; it has no string-course, nor ornament of any kind; it rises nearly as high as the tower, and ends in a four-sided conical capping of (apparently) stone tiles. Its south-west angle has quoins of wrought stone, simply recessed, for about one-half of its height. The windows are small rectangular slits, and its doorways, two in the east wall, and two in the north, are all roughly formed. The only entrance to this turret is from the south aisle, and the quoins of its north-east angle are visible in the nave, above the western engaged pier of the south arcade. The connection at present existing between this turret and the belfry loft, is a passage of the rudest kind, cut first northward, then westward, and lastly northward again, through the north wall of the turret and the south wall of the tower. The upper doorway into the bell chamber is of ordinary construction, but there are several useless stairs in the turret above the level of that door's base. Mr. Bubb, and others who have studied the peculiarities of this church, suggest that the turret is of earlier date than the tower. A doorway, in the east wall of the turret, is some feet above the existing roof of the south aisle. Evidently the roof to which it originally gave access was on a higher level, but the higher roof has long ago disappeared. I am inclined to think that this turret was built with the south aisle.

The transepts are of unequal dimensions, and although their designer intended to vault them both, yet his intention was not carried out until recently. The North Transept opens to the north aisle by a pointed arch, eight feet wide in the clear. This transept is 19½ feet long from north to south, and 22 feet 9 inches deep from east to west. In its north wall are two lancet windows, and above them is a small Norman window, in the apex of the gable; there was a door in the western corner. Externally this doorway is surmounted by the Early English string-course which, running beneath the windows, is continued as a square hood-mould over the door. Internally, beneath the windows in the north wall there is a string-course, and under it an altar tomb, beneath an arched canopy without cuspings. The tomb slab [illegible]ncised with a cross flory, and around the edge were Lom-



VAULTING SHAFT AND STRING-COURSE OF SUNK PANELS IN THE CHANCEL OF MINSTER CHURCH, THANET.

bardic letters forming, says Weever, this inscription: "Ici gist Edile de Thorne que fust dame del espine."* The front of the altar tomb was adorned with carved arched niches. This transept is called the Thorne Chapel or Chancel, and many believe that its founder was commemorated by the tomb in its north wall. There are two lancet windows in the east, and one in the west wall.

The South Transept is entered from the south aisle by a pointed arch, 7 feet 10 inches wide in the clear. This transept is 18 feet 5 inches long from north to south, and 23 feet deep from east to west. The lancet windows formerly existing in its south wall have been replaced by a Perpendicular window of four lights, over it there is a little Norman window in the apex of the gable; the original lancets remain in the east and west walls.

The space lying between the transepts, and between the nave and chancel, has pointed arches on each of its four sides, and is vaulted like the chancel, in chalk, with plain round ribs lacking bosses. Rood-beams seem to have been placed across both the eastern and western arches of this central space. The holes into which the beam-ends were inserted are still to be seen, in the piers of these arches, just above the spring of each.

The Early English Chancel, 52 feet 9 inches long, is very handsome, although by no means ornate. The vaulting, in four bays, springs from round vaulting shafts, the moulded bases of which rest on corbels about 4 feet from the floor. These corbels vary in pattern, one is a human head, others, like simply curled stalks, die into the wall. The caps of the vaulting shafts are of the usual Early English bell shape, well moulded. Beneath these caps runs a flat string-course of sunken panels, and above that a projecting string of the usual hollow moulding. The panels of the flat string-course are ornamented, in the two western bays, with sunk quatrefoils and trefoils, alternately (or nearly so); and, in the centre of each, a small circle of stone is left uncut, to project button-like. In the two eastern bays, the sunken ornament is

* Thorn is the name of a house and small estate in Minster, from which the Chronicler Thorn is supposed to have derived his name.

uniformly circular, not cusped. This string-course of sunken panels is very much like two others in Kent, of somewhat similar construction and design. One of them runs around the *sacrarium* of Hythe parish church; the other adorns the north wall of the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, where it surmounts the Early English arcading which ornamented the exterior of the ancient Refectory's south wall.

The chancel has, on each side, four lancet windows without shafts, but in the east wall are three lancets deeply moulded, having clustered shafts, with good bell capitals, and well-moulded bases. In the north wall is a tall narrow aumbry of peculiar shape; it is arched and pointed; and, being nearly five feet high, looks very much like a doorway; internally it is rectangular and capacious. Just east of it, the base of a vaulting shaft has been roughly inscribed with a rhyming distich in Latin. "Discat qui nescit quod Trot .... hic requiescit." The inscription is simply scratched upon the stone in a running hand, of the fifteenth century probably; the three last letters of the man's name are not legible, but its first syllable "Trot" .... is very plain.

There are in the chancel eighteen handsome stalls of wood, ten on the north side, eight on the south, the seats of which are carved with various quaint designs. Upon each elbow is carved a winged angel wearing a coronal or circlet, which rises in front into the shape of a cross. These stalls are especially interesting because we can date them with some degree of accuracy, One upon the south side, close beside, and west of, the vestry (or priest's) door, bears the name of John Curteys, who was rector of Minster from A.D. 1401 to A.D. 1419. By old tradition, this stall has been continuously used as the seat of the clergyman officiating at daily prayer. The designs carved upon the seats (*misereres*) are as follows:—

NORTH SIDE.

No. 1. (Western stall). A female head with horned head-dress, surmounting a winged body which has the clawed feet of a monster. On each side of this lies a small snake, curled into a circle, but having the head of a female with horned head-dress.

Miserere, No. 1.

Miserere, No. 10.

Miserere, No. 15.

CARVINGS ON SEATS IN THE CHANCEL OF MINSTER CHURCH, THANET.

No. 2. A shield charged with a fess between three mullets; the arms of Manston of Manston Court. On each side of this there is a leaf.

No. 3. An antelope, wearing a collar and chain. This was a Lancastrian badge. On each side there is foliage.

No. 4. Three shields; the central one bears the Manston arms, with a crescent for difference.

No. 5. A shield bearing the St Nicholas arms, *ermine* a chief quarterly. On each side is an angel holding a blank shield.

No. 6. The devil seated between the horns of a huge head-dress worn by a woman. On each side is a lion's face with projecting tongue.

No. 7. Two birds back to back. On each side is a fish.

No. 8. An angel bearing a blank shield. On each side is a double rose.

No. 9. A simple bracket. On each side is a four-leaved flower.

No. 10. (Eastern stall). A woman seated, holding a distaff, and having on her right hand a cat, on her left a dog. On the west side of this carving is a fox running off with a goose on his back. On the east side of it is the clown-like head of a man.

South Side.

No. 11 (Eastern stall). Three heads. That in the centre may possibly represent the Saviour, those on either side are sensual monks.

No. 12. An angel clad in feathers, bearing on his breast the monogram **i.h.c.** On each side, a monster.

No. 13. The female head of a furious "scold," with a gag in her mouth. On each side an eagle on its nest, with a scroll in its beak.

No. 14. A man seated, stirring the contents of a pot, and shouting with his hand beside his mouth; behind him is a basting ladle, and an implement used for putting bread into an oven. On each side is a fowl or goose, on her nest.

No. 15. A turban'd head of a man. On each side a grotesque head behind which appears a scroll. On one scroll is "*Johannes*," on the other "*Curteys*."

No. 16. The bust of a man who is laughing immoderately. On each side is a lion's head, likewise grinning.

No. 17. The head of a man with curling hair. On each side is a dragon.

No. 18. (Western stall). An angel playing upon a guitar. On each side is a human face.

For drawings of some of these carvings, and of the vaulting shaft, we are indebted to the generosity and skill of the Rev. F. Gell, of Minster Vicarage. Mr. Bubb kindly furnished photographs from which the other woodcuts have been taken.

In the south aisle of the nave, beside the second pier from the west end, stands the Bible-desk, to which the covers of an ancient Bible are still chained. The font, near the same place, is new. Traces remain of a primitive sundial, scratched upon the west buttress of the chancel's south wall, at its eastern angle.

In connection with the heraldic shields which appear upon stalls No. 2, 4, and 5, it may be stated that the benefactor commemorated by the St. Nicholas shield was, probably, John St. Nicholas of Thorne, whose wife's Christian name was Bennett.* Their son and heir Thomas St. Nicholas married Julian Manston, daughter and heiress of Nicholas Manston (who died in 1444) by his wife Eleanor heiress of Edmund Haute. Thomas St. Nicholas, of Thorne, by his will made in 1474, desired to be buried, before the image of St. Nicholas, in the Chancel of Thorne at Menstre† (that is the north transept of Minster Church). His wife Julian survived, until 1493, when she was buried in the Manston Chancel of St. Lawrence Church. Their sons were named Roger, Thomas, Richard, and John.‡ Roger's only child, Elizabeth St. Nicholas, heiress of Thorne, Manston Court, and Powcies, married John Dynley.

The site of Minster churchyard was used for burials, at a very early period. Some years ago, there was found in it a skeleton, on the skull of which was a glass vessel, bell-shaped, ornamented with threads of glass, like the glass vessels found in Saxon graves, and placed with its mouth downwards.§

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* Planché, *A Corner of Kent*, p. 365. † Lewis, *Hist. of Tenet*, p. 81.
‡ Planché, p. 366. § *Archæological Journal*, iv., p. 159.

ST. MARY'S MINSTER IN THANET, AND ST. MILDRED.

BY CANON R. C. JENKINS.

Those who have visited the beautiful church of Minster in Thanet must have arrived at the conclusion that the great Monastery of St. Augustine, which so early came into the inheritance of the ancient Saxon foundation at Minster, with all its possessions, has been, in one sense at least, its greatest benefactor. The whole of the present church is due to that architectural and religious zeal of the monks of St. Augustine's, which almost every church affiliated to their Abbey testifies. The connection was extended from the period of King Knut, until that fatal day which consigned the most ancient ecclesiastical house in England to ruin and almost utter extinction. But while the monks of St. Augustine were able to say, of this great work of re-edification, what St. Paulinus of Nola said of the church of St. Felix—

> "Quæque prius pilis stetit, hæc modo fulta columnis,
> Vilia mutato sprevit cœmenta metallo"—

in their attempt to produce similar effects in the history of St. Mildred and her foundation at Minster, they have woven into it such a web of falsehood, anachronisms, legends and miracles—have so interpolated and sometimes even fabricated its documentary records and charters, as to leave scarcely any of them free from the most serious suspicion, while many bear on their face the features of a pious fraud. Our first work, therefore, in entering upon this labyrinth of legendary history, is to separate truth from fiction as far as possible; to see what foundation of truth there is in the earlier history of the foundress and her labours, and then to pass on to that later period in which

the annals of Minster are incorporated with those of St. Augustine's, and the former house became merged in the latter.

The authorities for the Anglo-Saxon portion of this history were all so connected with St. Augustine's, and so deeply interested in maintaining the superiority of their house over the rival houses of Christ Church and St. Gregory, by magnifying the saintly persons whose lives and relics had become, in a manner, their special heritage, that we cannot receive them as reliable witnesses, whenever the claims of their great foundation come into conflict with those of their opponents, whom they never fail to attack with a kind of hereditary and feudal animosity. Goscelinus, the principal of these, who was himself a monk of St. Augustine's, flourished between 1058 and 1096, and compiled from early documents, which he sometimes refers to, the lives of most of the eminent saints and abbots of Kent. He was so energetic and unscrupulous a partisan of his house, in its long and bitter controversies with Christ Church and the Canons of St. Gregory, that wherever these controversies crop up in his narrative, it is to be read as the Roman censors say, *cautè et cum delectu.* Thorn, who wrote his Chronicle just three centuries later, was also an Augustinian monk and a native of the Isle of Thanet, and to its legendary history he naturally gives a very much higher value than a less prejudiced or more critical stranger. He may have been born within this parish, as the tomb of Edila de Thorn is one of the most curious relics in its church. Thomas of Elmham, to whom the History of St. Augustine's, published in 1858 by the Record Commission, is attributed by its editor, was also a monk of the same foundation and a most vigorous partisan of his house. He wrote about 1414, a little more than a century before the dissolution of the Abbey, and at the period of its culminating glory. All these writers, but especially the first, must be held to have possessed most singular advantages in regard to the history of a period whose earlier annalists have not survived. The history of Bede is almost entirely limited (except in its opening chapters) to that northern kingdom with which he

was altogether identified. He received all his knowledge respecting Kent from Albinus, an abbot of St. Augustine's, whose information would be slightly tinged with that devotion for his house and its founder which was so greatly developed in a later day and in so polemical a form. But Goscelinus had the advantage of a reference to Anglo-Saxon records, long since perished, which he sometimes refers to in the words "*Legitur in Anglico.*" It is an unfortunate fact that while many Anglo-Saxon charters have survived, the histories of Anglo-Saxon saints and eminent men seem to have altogether perished. These gave Goscelinus his materials, and give also the only value to his numerous biographical essays. But the charters, which were written in Latin, and not in the Anglo-Saxon vernacular, which had become a dead language to the monks of the Norman period, were so altered and interpolated, by the copyists at St. Augustine's, that almost every one of them is marked by Kemble with the note of spuriousness, or at least evident corruption. This renders the early history of Minster in connection with St. Augustine's Monastery peculiarly obscure, as the earliest and most numerous of the charters of the latter foundation are those which relate to the successive donations to Minster.

The literary dishonesty of the Augustinians was early noted and denounced, for their fabrications were too gross to escape the detection even of the credulous and uncritical age in which they were produced. The claim of exemption from episcopal jurisdiction asserted for the Monastery in its very foundation, nearly two centuries before such exemptions existed: the leaden seal attached to St. Augustine's pretended privilege, which Elmham spends four pages of his history in the fruitless endeavour to prove a possibility: with many other fatal anachronisms, induced Archbishop Richard, as early as 1180, to charge the monks with putting forth *bullæ adulterinæ*, and whenever they were urged to exhibit their *privilegia* in public, they always prudently but suspiciously declined the invitation. And when, out of mere shame, they produced them in the thirteenth century, the description which Gervase of Canterbury gives of them is such as to

convince us that they were as lightly regarded in his day as they are in the critical pages of Kemble. Such are the materials with which the writer of the history of Minster has to deal. But he would err as greatly in assigning no value to these documents, as he would in giving them too great a weight of authority. Undoubtedly they have a genuine foundation, though the superstructure is always precarious and often even spurious; and this is evidenced by the fact that almost all the names in them are obsolete in the village and in the island, while the names which remain are sufficiently ancient to have tempted a scribe in a later period to have substituted them for those brought in by the Norman or later settlers. Thus Domneva would have been inserted in the place of Æbba, while such unknown names as Haeg and Humantun would have given place to the later designations of the Norman or post-Norman period. It is easy to conceive that the older documents were copied and re-copied by the monks, with a thousand variations, and adaptations of them to the style and language of the times, while the dates are so confused and corrupted as constantly to clash with one another. Thomas of Elmham himself notes the great discrepancies which existed between the original charters, in the library of the monastery, and the copies of them preserved for reference in the registers of the Abbot's chamber. From these preliminary remarks, which are necessary in order that we may gain a comparatively safe footing, in the maze of traditional history upon which we are entering, we will begin the brief but romantic tale of the sainted Domneva, and her still more illustrious daughter St. Mildred, with which the history of Minster opens—a tale which we might well designate as the "Thunnor Legend."

According to this tradition, which is foisted into a charter of Edward the Confessor, to be noted presently, Æadbald had two sons, Eormenrede the elder and Earconberht the younger one; Eormenrede died in his father's lifetime, leaving two sons, Æthelred and Æthelberht, under the care of his surviving brother, who was authorised to administer the kingdom until the elder of his nephews became old enough to succeed to it. An unscrupulous courtier, however,

who had clung to the ancient idolatry, and whose name was Thunnor, endeavours to persuade the king to put to death the two nephews who stood in the way of his quiet possession of the crown. But failing in his attempt, he despatches them himself, in the town of Eastry where he lived, and buries them in the saloon of his house. Hereupon a divine portent appears, in the form of a celestial light of miraculous brilliancy, shining constantly on the graves of the murdered princes, which at once discovers the guilt of the courtier and awakens the fears of the king. The abbot Adrian, of St. Augustine's, and Archbishop Theodore, working upon this good foundation, induce the king to make compensation to the sister of the murdered princes, this restitution being accomplished by the grant to her of a site for a nunnery, and an ample endowment of land in Thanet. The extent of this land was to be determined by the course of a stag, and was to include whatever the stag could enclose in a single run. The author of the crime, the base Thunnor, blames the king for making the royal gift dependent upon the capricious course of a mere brute. And while Earconberht is watching, with undissembled gratification, the course of the stag, Thunnor, with truculent face, endeavours to restrain and divert its progress. At this moment the earth suddenly opens and the wretched murderer is swallowed up (as the legend closes) like Dathan and Abiram, and goes down quick into hell. The chasm which was thus occasioned is said by the monkish chroniclers to have been still called, in their day, Thunnor "his lope" or leap, and is carefully marked out in the map of Thanet annexed to the original MS. of Elmham's History, which was executed about 1414.

Now let us confront with this romantic story the real and authentic relation of Bede, which, as he tells us, was derived from the Abbot Albinus of St. Augustine's, who (as Minster had not then devolved with its precious relics to his monastery) had no interest, at least in this case, in giving a miraculous colouring to the then almost cotemporary history. "Æadbald passing from this life"—are the words of the patriarch of English history—"left the government of the kingdom to his son Earconberht, who, having held it for

twenty-four years and several months, carried on his reign most nobly." "Earconberht left the throne to Ecgberht, which he held for nine years."* Here we have no mention of any elder son of Æadbald, nor even a hint that Earconberht usurped the kingdom, or held it in trust for another; but it may be asked, "how then did the name Eormenrede originate, and how was it imported into the story?" I reply, from an endeavour of the monkish chroniclers to clear up the meaning of that early charter of their house, in which the "land which Ermenrede sometime possessed" is granted to Domneva as a part of the endowment of her nunnery; for this suggested the idea of a restitution of property unjustly acquired by the king, and (though a minor could have hardly been held even then to possess land) a place was found for Eormenrede in the pedigree of the Kentish family. We know that a mere casual hint, or correspondence of name or circumstance, was enough for a monk of St. Augustine to construct a legend upon, for the single charter of St. Augustine's, which establishes its connection with Lyminge, is made the groundwork by Elmham of an elaborate but most incredible theory, in order to account for the origin and descent of the title to so distant a property. Not only at this point, but in regard to every incident of the Thunnor legend, we find the great oracle of our Anglo-Saxon history absolutely silent. Domneva, who is the heroine of the romance, has no place whatever in his story. In all the earlier charters of Minster she is called Abba or Æbba, while the chroniclers assign to her the name of Ermenburga. The popular name of Domneva is so absolutely unlike the female names in use at that time, that we cannot but regard it as a compound of *Domina* and *Æbba*, the original title of the foundress, and one rather derived from her official rank as Abbess, than representing her personal name. In this view the word Domneva would simply mean the "Lady Abbess," a name sufficiently indicating its Augustinian origin, and denoting the popular title given her in the neighbourhood of her great foundation, where she was pre-eminently and distinctively *the* Abbess—

* Hist l. iii., c. 8, and l. iv., c. 1.

the *Great Lady*—which was the only title given to the late Duchess of Sutherland by her humbler clansmen. The complication of the three names greatly puzzles the later chroniclers, and indeed they can only be reconciled by supposing that two of them represent, in different forms, the official title, while the third, Ermenburga, is the personal one; yet they all belong to a much earlier period than the Thunnor legend, which I propose now to translate from the mythical into the historic form. The name of Thunor or Thor, which (as far as my memory serves) was never attached to a mere human being in the days of the Anglo-Saxon idolatry, points rather to the destruction of idols in the reign of Earconberht and his son than to the imaginary courtier, who is represented as dissuading the king from his pious purpose of endowing the nunnery of Minster. If we collate this legendary history with the simple narrative of the conversion of the Northumbrian kingdom given us by Bede, when the High Priest Coifi threw down the national idol to the great terror of its worshippers, we shall interpret it thus,

The worship of Thor survived still in Thanet, and had hitherto escaped the zeal of Earconberht, which was devoted against every relic of the ancient idolatry in his kingdom. Ecgberht found it thus existing; and, by publicly destroying the idol and casting it into the great chalkpit known afterwards as "Thunor's leap," proved to the simple worshippers the utter impotence of their deity, just as Coifi proved it in the Northern kingdom; and, as we might add, from the history of our own time, just as the late Queen of the Sandwich Islands proved it when she descended into the terrible crater of Kilauea—a perfect sea of fire—to defy and denounce the idol of her country, Pelé. Probably the Northumbrian incident, which must have been handed down traditionally to Ecgberht from his great aunt Æthelburga, who had herself witnessed it, formed the precedent for a similar one in his own kingdom. He then took the opportunity of founding a nunnery, over which he placed his niece Ermenburga, as the best means of carrying on the work he had begun, and endowed it with the lands immediately surrounding the place of its foundation. And now we come to the history of

the stag, which, apart from the family resemblance it bears to the legend of the foundation of Carthage, is convicted of falsehood by the facts relating to the endowment of the nunnery which are disclosed in its successive charters. From these it appears that this was a very gradual process, one grant of land within the island being added to another, at irregular intervals, through a long series of years, all these gifts being massed together (but not until the Norman period) in order to form the manor of Minster. This accounts for the extraordinary irregularity of the boundaries of the manors of Minster and Monkton, representing respectively the inheritance of St. Augustine's and that of the monastery of Christ Church. To suppose that half the island was granted to Domneva by a single act, is almost as signal a violation of historical truth as to suppose that the *whole* island was granted to St. Augustine's, according to the charter of Edward the Confessor, into which the Augustinians contrived to foist the Thunor legend. The donations already secured to Christ Church, by still older charters, rendered it impossible for the king to carry out the fanciful caprice of the stag, whose course would have inevitably trespassed on the lands of the Archbishop, who is described as witnessing this exciting scene. The truth is, that the endowment of Minster (like the still earlier endowment of Lyminge) was a very composite one. Either by exchange or arrangement with the monks of Christ Church, the properties of the two foundations were so adjusted that the eastern half of the island fell to the Augustinians, and the western to the cathedral foundation; and the story of the stag is probably a mythical representation of some early perambulation of the bounds of the manors, which this re-arrangement of them rendered necessary. The extreme and almost grotesque irregularity of the line which separates them would have naturally suggested to the mind of an imaginative monk the idea of the stag and its eccentric course. We have many instances of exchanges and adjustments of property, in these Saxon charters, by which irregular and intermixed possessions became more easily adapted to that feudal system which was introduced in the Norman period.

Before we pass away from the consideration of the early charters relating to Minster, we may suggest that the name of Haeg is represented in the form of Heghisdale, afterwards given to the so-called "Thunor's leap," but now long since obsolete; while Humantun, which finds no place in the fifteenth-century map, may probably be represented by the modern name of Manston—a manor and residence of considerable antiquity between Minster and Ramsgate. But probably those who are acquainted with the obscurer local names, which are still attached to the smaller farms and lands in Thanet, may find a nearer approach than any which I can make, as a stranger, to the identification of the names preserved by the earlier charters. It is now time that we should turn to the history of the nunnery itself, and its brief but illustrious succession of sainted abbesses. Here the chronology is extremely perplexing. According to the Charter of Wihtraed in 697, Æbba (or Domneva Ermenburga) was abbess up to that year, while the charter of 696 assigns the office to her daughter Mildred. Probably we should not be far wrong in assigning to Æbba (or Domneva Ermenburga) an incumbency of twenty-five years. Her original foundation is said to have been on and around the site of the present church of St. Mary, to whom her nunnery was dedicated. Here she received the veil from Archbishop Theodore, who appointed her the first abbess of the new house. Of her life we know very little. Its interest appears to have faded away before that of her sainted daughter Mildred, so as to leave but little trace in the pages of the monastic chroniclers; while the whole foreground of their picture is filled up with the miraculous legends of her successor. St. Mildred belonged to a family of saints, whose names have been connected with some of the earliest foundations in England. The number of churches in which her own name has survived is an indication of the veneration in which she was held, and the number of families in which it has been perpetuated is scarcely less signal a proof of the influence her memory has retained in the secular households of a later day. Her pedigree is carefully drawn out by Thomas of Elmham, as well as by Florence of Worcester and

his copyists, and exhibits on either side an unbroken line of royal and saintly personages. As to her life, it was a continuous history of miracles and wonders; while those which she wrought after her death were so many and surprising that they surpassed even the most astonishing proofs of her supernatural power in the days of her earthly sojourn. It would seem, indeed,

"As if in death were propagation too."

Her biography is frequently referred to by Elmham, and extracts from it, sadly garbled and mutilated, are to be found in Leland. But the principal source would seem to be the memoir by Goscelinus, which supplied the materials for the later chroniclers. She is said to have suffered a long illness before her death; and it must strike us as a subject of surprise and perhaps regret, that saints—who are described as exercising so vast a power over the bodies of all who had recourse to them—should have failed to exert the same influence over their own bodies, or those of their friends and relatives, when they stood in need of their healing virtue. St. Mildred is said to have ruled over seventy nuns, among whom were her sainted sisters St. Milburga and St. Milgitha—one afterwards abbess of Wenlock, and the other of Eastry—and also her aunt, St. Ermengitha. She was succeeded by the Abbess Edburga, whose first work was to build another church and nunnery, at some little distance from the original foundation and farther from the marshes, which doubtless rendered the early site unhealthy, if not sometimes untenable. This second foundation is represented by the remains of Minster Court, or Abbey, and the two structures were said to be so connected as to have formed one building. To this new church, which was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, she removed, with great solemnity, the remains of her predecessor St. Mildred, and from this second resting-place they were again removed to St. Augustine's in a later age. Elmham attributes this additional work to the great increase of the number of the nuns, which rendered an enlargement of the building necessary; but this would not account for the translation to the second church of the relics of St. Mil-

dred, which appears to me to indicate the fact that the ancient Minster Church of St. Mary had been secularised and made parochial, and a new church was therefore required for the special use of the nuns. The circumstances attending the translation were such as we invariably find on these occasions. Amid an immense concourse of people the tomb was opened; the coffin emitted a delicious fragrance; the virgin-saint was found in the whitest robes, perfect, and without the slightest vestige of corruption or decay. "Miracles were met by miracles" (miracula miraculis occurrebant), as our enthusiastic chronicler exclaims. Forty-five years had passed, and yet she was found rather like one sleeping in a bed than one resting in a tomb. Many miracles of healing and sudden floods after great drought attended this first translation of the relics of St. Mildred, by which not only the breast of Edburga, but those of all the sisters are said to have been "melted" (sororum omnium pectora liquefacta sunt). Edburga, "uttering immense thanksgivings to God," removed the relics to her own church and placed them in a tomb on the north side of the Presbytery. Edburga herself died in A.D. 751 and was buried in her new foundation. To Edburga is addressed a charter of King Æthelred, assigning to her foundation half the toll or tribute of a ship, which she had purchased and which had accrued to the king. This is very justly marked by Kemble as spurious, or at least greatly corrupted; and indeed it describes Edburga as having, as early as May, 748, translated the body of St. Mildred and completed her new foundation, while a charter, dated in the September of the previous year, describes Mildred as still living, although the chroniclers describe forty-five years as elapsing between her death and this translation. In any case, seven months (and those chiefly winter months) give a very short time to a work which, in these days, generally lasted as many years.

The charter supplies only a fresh instance of the manner in which later facts were inserted by the monks into ancient charters, as we have seen already to have been done in the case of the charter of Edward the Confessor, in which the Thunor legend appears for the first time. I question,

indeed, whether that charter is not a fabrication from beginning to end, for it most suspiciously introduces and settles the controversy between Christ Church and St. Augustine's on the burial-place of the archbishops, and claims descent for the king himself from Æthelberht, to which, as the descendant of Cerdic, he had no claim, the family of Æthelberht having been extinct more than two centuries before. Æthelberht, moreover, claimed his origin from Wehta, the eldest son of Woden, while Cerdic's was from Bealdeag, his sixth son. The charter, moreover, contradicts itself by affirming Ecgberht to have succeeded to these lands "jure hæreditario," while, in the next sentence, it describes the murder of the two princes, to whom they lawfully belonged.

We pass on to the reign of the fourth Abbess Sigeburga, which was sadly contrasted, in all its features, with those of her illustrious predecessors. It was her misfortune to witness the first descent of the Danes upon Thanet; and almost every year after this first inroad their ravages along the coast, and often far into the interior of the country, are recorded in the Saxon Chronicle and by the later annalists. Everywhere their bitterest hostility seems to have been directed against the religious houses of Kent, though the secular churches and clergy appear to have been treated with much greater consideration, and even spared in the case of mixed foundations like that of Minster. I believe that the exclusive attention we have given to our English chroniclers —almost always monks, or at least identified in interest with monastic foundations—has led us to form a very inaccurate and one-sided opinion on the nature and tendency of these piratical raids. It is always assumed by these chroniclers, and too readily admitted by all their copyists of a later day, that the Danes were heathens as well as barbarians, and the most virulent haters and persecutors of Christianity in all its forms. On the other hand, the ancient Danish writers maintain that they were the converters of East Anglia, and the introducers and propagators of a purer form of Christianity than that which had hitherto been propagated in England. Those who imagine the Danes of the

Anglo-Saxon period to have been idolaters should remember that the conversion of the whole of Denmark to Christianity took place in 858, and that in 880 the Danes are asserted by their ancient chroniclers to have introduced Christianity into East Anglia, on the occasion of their re-conquest of that kingdom. Anscharius, Archbishop of Hamburg, had spread Christianity in Denmark in the beginning of the ninth century; and we are told by the Saxon historian, Albert Krantz, that it was handed down from father to son among the common people, even in the days when it suffered persecution from the rulers. I do not hesitate, therefore, to express the conviction that the Danes, from the period mentioned (although so terribly maligned as idolaters) were Christians, and to affirm that there is no reason why we should give greater weight to the authority of the Saxon Chronicle, than to the writings of Saxo-Grammaticus and the earlier Scandinavian historians. The conduct of the Danes at Minster establishes the fact that it was not against the religion, but the religious orders, on account of their implacable enmity to the Danish settlers, that their hostility was directed; for when they utterly destroyed the conventual buildings at Minster, they spared the chapels of St. Mary and St. Peter and St. Paul. This is a fact which you will be invited to consider, in determining the possibility of any relics of these historic buildings being enclosed in the more modern setting which meets the eye of the present inquirer. It is certainly an important fact as bearing upon the real character of these marauding parties, whose most strenuous opponents, both in Thanet and at Lyminge, were the monks and those whom they marshalled in their defence. In the battle which occurred at the latter place, the secular priest is said to have been the only man who escaped—an almost incredible fact—unless his life had been actually spared by the enemy.

The whole history of these invasions looks like an anticipation of the Bohemian warfare in the Hussite period, which was a crusade against the monastic orders by those who professed a simpler form of Christianity, and regarded them as carrying on an organised conspiracy against their rights

and even existence as a nation; and I think that my friend Mr. Parker will agree with me in the belief that much of the so-called Anglo-Saxon architecture of the east of England is in reality Danish, and to be attributed rather to the early Danish settlers, and the great revival of the days of Knut, than to builders of the Saxon race. The Saxons—as they had only a few Roman models before them, and followed these with a rude and servile devotion—were not likely to originate a style so peculiar and distinctive, and so evidently pointing to the old wooden temples of Scandinavia, as that of the towers of Barnack or Earl's Barton. The mythical statements of the monks in regard to the first piratical invasion of the Northmen might well lead us to receive with caution their descriptions of the events of this period. The story of Hyngwar and Hubba, and their descent from a bear, must prepare us for narratives scarcely less mythical.

According to the monastic historians, the incumbency of Sigeburga was one of constant afflictions and losses to the reduced and imperilled community of Minster—its lands and other possessions failed and were sequestrated—and (to use the words of Elmham), "from the deficiency of the pasture, the flock wasted away." The date of the first Danish inroad into Thanet is fixed by the chroniclers at 753, while the death of Sigeburga is carried on to the year 797, giving her a reign of forty-six years, a period of unusual length for an abbess in those turbulent days. She was succeeded by the Abbess Selethrytha, who appears to be the same person who was afterwards Abbess of Lyminge, and is mentioned as such in the short but authentic charter of Cuthred and Kenulf in A.D. 804. (*Cart.* 188.)

She is said to have been a person of great energy and influence, and to have recovered to her church and nunnery all that the weakness and misfortunes of her predecessor had lost or surrendered. But the end of her public life contrasted sadly with its beginning. According to Elmham, she was doomed to witness the utter destruction of the costly work of her predecessors and to become a martyr in its defence, having been burnt to death with her nuns and the priests and servants of the fated abbey, which is said to have

been so utterly destroyed as to have left not a vestige above ground—not one stone upon another of its historic walls. This is the state described by Thomas of Elmham as existing in his day; and this again will have to be taken into consideration, in determining the inquiry, whether any Anglo-Saxon relics are still enshrined in these walls or those of the abbey beyond. But in regard to the death of Selethrytha—if the Abbess of Lyminge be the same person, as a comparison of the dates and other circumstances must, I think, clearly evince—it would follow that the martyrdom story arose out of her disappearance from the scene without leaving any relics behind her, rather than from any actual proof that she perished in the alleged conflagration. There can be little doubt that a new home was provided for her at Lyminge; and the charter, which gives her a new place of refuge in Canterbury, shews that this first move, though farther inland, was not altogether sufficient, and that the removal of the rural foundations into cities and towns (carried out afterwards by St. Dunstan) had become an inevitable necessity. The martyrdom story is, in fact, contradicted by its very narrator, who, after describing the burning to death of Selethrytha, tells us that she was buried with all the consecrated virgins in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, together with the priests and levites (as he calls them), whose utter destruction he has just detailed. How the bodies were identified or the funeral rites performed we are left to conjecture. If the identification of our two Selethrythas is correct, another link is established between the nunnery of Minster and the still more ancient foundation of Lyminge, which may prepare us for the singular and embittered controversy that sprang up from the attempt to identify two other saints, each named Mildred, who were not (as these were) contemporaneous, but lived at an interval of more than a generation. I allude to the great conflict for the possession of the genuine relics of St. Mildred, which, springing up after the death of Lanfranc, was carried on up to the period of the Reformation. Æthelburga (popularly called Eadburg), daughter of Æthelberht and Berctha, is said to have founded the nunnery of Lyminge in 633, for the sake of

her niece, an earlier St. Mildred, who, as I have often pointed out, could have been none other than the daughter of Æadbald by that fatal marriage, whose illegality excluded her name from the pedigree of the Kentish kings. In any case, she is described as having been buried with her aunt in the church of Lyminge, where most of those whom I am addressing have seen her burial-place. Now, when the Abbey of Minster was destroyed, the site fell into the hands of the king, and was regranted with all the ancient lands of the nunnery by King Knut to the Monastery of St. Augustine. In this grant was included that priceless treasure, valued in those days above lands and gold, the relics of the later St. Mildred, which were removed to a shrine at St. Augustine's by the Abbot Ælfstan in the days of Edward the Confessor. In the beginning of the Norman period it occurred to Archbishop Lanfranc to grant a similar endowment to the new house he had founded at Canterbury in honour of St. Gregory, and to bestow upon it the relics of St. Æthelburga or Eadburg, then quietly reposing at Lyminge. Not only was the body of that saint discovered in the tomb, but next to it another, to which the popular tradition assigned the name of St. Mildred. Without stopping to consider the possibility of two Saxon saints having the same name, or the distance of the periods at which they lived, the Gregorian monks immediately asserted for themselves the possession of the great and wonder-working Abbess of Minster, and invented a story by which she and her nuns were alleged to have fled from the Danes to Lyminge and to have there died. The Augustinian monks, infuriated at the idea of a claim which threatened a diversion of so many of the offerings and devotions of their house to the newly-founded Gregorians, rushed to the encounter with all the polemical weapons they could muster, and the result was the production of almost a literature on this subject, including sermons, treatises, and writings of all kinds, as Goscelinus tells us in that singular contribution to it which he terms "Contra inanes B. Mildrethae usurpatores."

Fragments of the Gregorian treatises may, I think, be recognised in Leland's confused and corrupted pages. But

the work of Goscelinus on the side of the Augustinians gives us the fullest picture that we have of it. After detailing the heresy of the Gregorians regarding the flight of the nuns from Minster to Lyminge, he exclaims indignantly, "But how could they have fled from the hands of the enemy in Thanet to get into his very jaws at Lyminge? This would indeed be to seek the protection of the lion against the wolf. . . . And with what face can the writer, who describes the translation of St. Eadburg, give to the unknown body which they found under the pavement of the tomb at Lyminge the name of Mildred? when for nearly three years it was doubtful whether a second body had been found there;" then slightly contradicting himself, he adds, "For a long time the other body, which was found there with that of Eadburg, received no name. At length they insidiously feigned this title for it. 'Twas then that the brethren at St. Augustine's heard that the name had been found carved on a stone. On this the Abbot Wydo, calling to him the parish priest of Lyminge, a sensible man (for so I think *vir sensatus* must be here rendered), "who had taken up the corpses, adjured him not to conceal anything he had found from him." He accordingly, fully satisfying this adjuration, exclaimed, "I who with these hands took up both the corpses from their tombs, call everything sacred to witness that I found no name, no writing, no title, no proof such as has been alleged. No Mildred was there, nor were any remains there discernible except those which were believed to be St. Eadburg's." The contradiction here involved is rather curious, and the admission that two bodies were actually brought from Lyminge and put on either side of the high-altar at St. Gregory's, shews that the zeal to deny the possibility of the fact very far outran the admissions of the witnesses themselves. But the saint in the meantime was by no means idle. Her apparitions were both numerous and startling, producing conviction even in some of the more ingenuous Gregorians, and specially in an aged monk, who is described as "eminent in conversation, prayers, and psalmody," who was "relieved from the error that the blessed Mildred was

detained in the parish of St. Gregory" by a vision of the injured saint herself. Nevertheless the Gregorians hardened their hearts, and on every return of the festival of the translation of the relics "profanely twitted the monks of St. Augustine ('subsannabant et exprobabant fratres'), telling them that all their zeal about St. Mildred was superfluous, and that the feast of her translation was a mere empty dream." The bitter controversy was carried on until the dissolution of the rival houses and the destruction of the disputed relics, those real bones of monastic contention, left it among the débris of a period of confusion and ignorance which is never likely to return.

We now pass to that period in which the Church of Minster, which had given so great a treasure to St. Augustine's, became indebted to that great foundation for the four beautiful churches in Thanet which adorn the ancient inheritance of St. Mildred—those namely of St. Mary's Minster, St. Laurence, St. Peter, and St. John—of which the three last were made parochial at the close of the thirteenth century. Doubtless you will have observed (or will yet observe) many features in these venerable buildings (especially in that of St. Laurence) which indicate an earlier period than that of their actual dedication, and will be able to determine better than I can venture to do, the approximate date at which these ancient chapelries were originally founded. Several saintly persons are said to have been buried in them, among whom St. Ymarus is specially mentioned as buried in St. John's, *i.e.*, Margate. Beyond his name, and the fact that he was a monk of Reculver, there is I believe no record of this saintly person, who was probably one of the "priests and levites" mentioned by Elmham as having suffered martyrdom during the incursions of the Danes. St. Florentius, who was buried at Minster, was probably a levite of the same canonization. Domneva is said to have been buried at St. Mary's, the foundress of the nunnery not being worthy probably of a translation to the more favoured church of St. Peter and St. Paul. By resting in this quiet churchyard she has escaped the perils which befell the last home of her more honoured daughter at St. Augustine's, and the destruction

which awaited St. Æthelburga's relics at St. Gregory's. Ermengitha and Edburga lay the one a mile distant from the nunnery, the other in the second church now destroyed; while there also the remains of Sigeburga and Selethrytha (if at least she left any remains whatever) were deposited. Thomas de Elmham—who speaks of the *plebeia parochia* which succeeded the nunnery, and of the secular clergy who officiated in it, with a contempt worthy of a regular priest, and above all an Augustinian—mentions in his chronology three Papal Bulls adjusting the tithes of St. John, St. Laurence, and St. Peter, and preserving them to their respective churches. These are all assigned to the year 1301, and probably were consequent upon the formation of these parishes out of the original manor of Minster, and the elevation of their churches into a parochial dignity from their original status of mere chapels to the mother church of Minster. The great value of the Manor of Minster in the Domesday computation cannot fail to strike you—the yearly value of a hundred pounds representing what would be a vast endowment in the present day. This may well account for the church building and church restoration of which we see so many traces, and for the remains of those ancient farm-houses and granges which indicate a degree of beauty and refinement, which few but monastic proprietors, holding possessions of unusual value, could have bestowed upon such buildings.

Little of interest occurs in the history of the Church of Minster during its connection with the monastery, or after the dissolution, when the manor and the advowson were separated. But I must not close this sketch of its various transitions without mentioning the connection it had with the learned Dr. Meric Casaubon during the period of the Long Parliament, when he was denounced with so many others to the Committee of Religion of Sir Edward Dering, and charged with various Popish errors and innovations. Against these accusations he appears to have successfully vindicated himself. One of them was the charge of non-residence, which he regrets had been in some degree justified by the unhealthi-

ness of the place, in which, on one occasion, the plague had broken out—a confession of the surrender of his post in the hour of danger which few (we may safely affirm) would not be ashamed to make in our own more favoured day. We have now reached a period at which our inquiries may well terminate. The unfortunate chaplain to Archbishop Laud soon realized the peril of so exalted a situation, in the deprivation of his livings and cathedral preferment, and the church of Minster fell from that time into the once normal state of all our country churches—suffering much from many churchwardens—until in our own day it has received that complete (I venture to think *too* complete) restoration by which its masonry is sufficiently concealed to at once elude the scrutiny of the antiquary and to illustrate the skill of the plasterer. I cannot here avoid commending the taste and judgment of the late churchwarden, who has unclothed a portion of the interior, and much wish that this good work (whose effect is so stri king could have been continued.

HOLDERS OF KNIGHT'S FEES IN KENT AT THE KNIGHTING OF THE KING'S SON, ANNO 38 HENRY III. (A.D. 1253-4.)

EDITED BY JAMES GREENSTREET.

SINCE the publication, in 1876, of the Kent Assessments on the occasion of Knighting the Black Prince, it has been my good fortune to discover a record connected with the levying, in that county, of the much earlier Aid of 38 Henry III. The document in question comprises the entire contents of a thin folio volume, of twelve parchment leaves, marked $A\frac{4}{33}$, which is preserved among the miscellaneous Chapter House books, at the Public Record Office.* These leaves have evidently formed part of another Manuscript; but whether the whole of that Manuscript related to the same or to kindred subjects can-

* Subsequently to this being sent to press, I met with another version of the Aid among the Cottonian MSS. (Galba, E. iv., fo. 37). It is included in the collections of Henry Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, who was elected, as it is therein set down (fo. 35b), A.D. 1285. The manuscript is in beautiful condition—the writing being of large size—and the Prior, though he must have been well aware of the inaccuracies of the original as to names, etc., does not appear to have in anywise materially interfered with the text. From the circumstance that the last date entered in a chronology (from the time of the Incarnation downwards) on fo. 36b is A.D. 1321, and that the name of Walter (Reynolds), "late Bishop of Worcester," who was elected in 1313, is inserted in a list of the Archbishops of Canterbury, on fo. 2, a pretty close idea of the date of the MS. can be arrived at.

not, of course, now be ascertained. Three distinct paginations exist at the present time. The earliest commenced, by way of folios, with "ccxxj" on the face of the first leaf; as is apparent from the circumstance that "ccxxij" remains on the face of the second leaf, and so on to "ccxxxij" on that of the twelfth, with which terminates the portion taken up by the record. There is a later series of folios in Arabic numerals from 101 (equal page 1) to 112 (equal page 23) inclusive. The pagination by modern numbers from 1 to 23, which I have given in my text, is evidently that of the Record Office authorities, who have neatly mounted the Manuscript on fresh parchment margins. On the back of the last leaf is written, in what appears to be a comparatively modern hand, the following descriptive title of the contents, viz., "*Feoda Militaria Kanc'*."

Very superficial examination of this record led me to incline strongly to the belief that it is the one alluded to by Philipot, at page 258 of his *Villare Cantianum*, where he says "Ore, in the Hundred of Faversham, was, as the Book called *Feoda Militum* kept in the Exchequer informs me, in the 38th year of Henry III the inheritance of Reginald de Cornhill" (see the 205th entry of this Aid).

Hasted, in his later History of the county, refers both to a Book and to a Roll of Knight's Fees of the time of Edward I, kept in the Exchequer (*vide* vol. ii, 737, 740, 746, 747, 795, ; vol. iii, 424-5; etc.) Possibly he really meant only one authority. In other places, however, he speaks of them as of the reign of Edward II (ii, 798, 807, 809). And at vol. iv, p. 2 (*note*) he quotes Madox to the effect that in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, so much perplexity had

arisen through the splitting up of the fees (whereby each entire one was frequently accounted for by a number of persons) that the authorities in the Exchequer found it necessary to provide themselves with extracts, from earlier documents, giving information as to the former tenants. In this way, I surmise, he seeks to account for the existence of such lists of the holders of fees; taking it for granted that they none of them belong exclusively to any particular period. This may be the case with respect to some of these collections; but I think it can hardly be taken to apply generally. For instance, the account of the holders of Fees in Kent in the time of Henry III,* recorded in, what we are accustomed to style, the *Testa de Nevill*,† is referred to by Philipot as of the date of 20 Hen. III;‡ and, as I imagine, without

* This account is given twice over; the first version beginning on p. 205, the second at p. 210[a]. They appear to vary little; and are, I should say, of the same or nearly identical dates.

† The printed volume entitled *Testa de Nevill* contains only, here and there, extracts from an earlier work of that name.

‡ Philipot says distinctly, at p. 263 of the *Villare Cantianum*, that the *Testa de Nevill* (he seems to allude to the Kent portion specially) is an account of the holders of the fees at the marriage of the king's sister, Ao. 20 Hen. III. And he cites the entry where William de Valoigns (it should be Peter de Otham) is recorded as having, on that occasion as he says, paid Aid for those lands in Otham which subsequently went with the sole daughter and heiress of said Peter ("de Otteham," or "Hotteham") into the family of Valoigns (*vide Testa de Nevill*, pages 209[b] and 214[a]). And if (as Philipot evidently considered it to be) the Kent portion of the record in question is as completely contemporary in character as the Aids of 38 Hen. III and 20 Edw. III, it must of necessity be earlier in date than the first of those Aids, because a list of the fees appertaining to Warine de Monchensi is included, and he deceased in the year when it was levied. Philipot's definite assignation of date is to my mind very strongly supported by the fact of the

the slightest doubt that the whole of the entries were of that date. The accounts of the holders in other counties in the volume refer, however, to different occasions and periods *temp.* Henry III and Edward I.

Of course the strictly contemporary nature of a record, and of every entry in it, can only be proved by a careful analysis of the whole, and by corroboration of such contemporary character from entirely independent sources. But this is very difficult of attainment with respect to many early documents; and would be, I dare say, in the majority of cases next to hopeless. For, in addition to the paucity of materials for so testing their contents, there is also the circumstance that the representatives of the generality of early families bore precisely the same Christian names during many successive generations, thus rendering the distinction between individuals often im-

mention in the record under Kent of the "heirs of Hamo de Valoigns," in respect of the possessions of that family in the county. Now there was a Hamo de Valoigns, a celebrated Irish justiciary in the reign of John, who apparently had a son of the same Christian name distinguished from his father by the addition "Junior" (see Hardy's *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*); and in the *twenty-sixth* year of Henry III it is recorded (*Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium*, pages 4 and 5) that Bertram de Criol was made custodian of the lands which formerly belonged to Hamo de Valoigns. This Hamo I take to be the son of the Irish Judge, and the same person who is referred to in the pages of the *Testa de Nevill* as being dead and having left heirs under age. Again, the "heirs of Roger Malmains" are entered in connection with the Malmains' estates in Kent; and we learn that in the *twenty-seventh* year of Henry III the heir of Roger Malmains (evidently Henry of that name, afterwards sheriff of Kent) was already aged *nineteen*, and in the custody of same Bertram de Criol (*Excerpta è Rotulis Finium*, vol. i, p. 388); so the expression "heirs of Roger Malmains" could not well have been used in the *Testa de Nevill* subsequently to Ao. 29 Hen. III.

possible, and confusion of one with another a matter of constant occurrence.

I will proceed to adduce one or two corroborations which tend to shew that the document I now publish is a transcript of a contemporary return of some particular date, and moreover that there is every reasonable possibility of that particular date being the one to which Philipot, probably on very sufficient evidence, ascribed it.

Warine de Monchensi figures throughout the record. He died in the 38th year of Henry III. William de Longespée, the last lineal descendant of the great Earls of Salisbury, appears twice in connection with certain holdings (*vide* Nos. 23 and 26). His father (also named William, and son and heir of William third and last of the Longespées Earls of Salisbury) was *deprived of his possessions* by Henry III, and slain at the Siege of Massoura in 1250 (Ao. 34 Hen. III). The person mentioned in the record was apparently reinstated in those possessions after the decease of his father, but died in 1256 (Ao. 40 Hen. III), without male issue (see Courthope's *Historic Peerage*). Hamo de Crevequer, likewise named in many entries as superior lord, died Ao. 47 Hen. III. Thus much with respect to persons of distinction. But pretty close evidence as to the date of the original document is afforded by entries containing mention of the local celebrities of the period. It is my intention to deal with them at length in a series of Notes upon the Aid, and I shall therefore only anticipate them here by perhaps the most important one. In the beginning of the record, the heir of Robert de Septvans is spoken of (*vide* Nos. 33 and 48); in another place (No. 383) he is more clearly indicated

8. Here*s* Joha*n*nis de Delce tenet in Natyndenn*e* j. q*u*art. milit. de eodem W*illelmo*.
9. Tres filie trone tene*n*t in Pa*t*rikesbourne j. q*u*art. milit. de eodem W*illelmo*.
10. Joha*n*nes de Cryol*e* & Joha*nnes* de Gadyntone & Joha*nnes* de Clanuill*e* (*Glanuille*) tene*n*t duas p*a*rtes j. f(e)od. milit. in Nether Hardr*es* de Hamone Creuequer'.
11. Rob*ertus* de Hardr*es* tenet in Heghardr*es* j. f(e)od. milit. de Honore Glouc*estrie*.
12. Nich*ola*us de Bourn*e* & Ricardus del Bek*e* tenent Villat*am* de Lyni*n*gbourne per seriantiam.
13. Joha*n*nes de Hosprenges & Will*el*m*us* de Natindon*e* tene*n*t ead*em* p*er* Gaulikend*e* (*Gauilkende*) de Priore S*ancti* Gregor*ii* Cantuar*ie*.

Hundr*edum* [de] Ryngslo.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* s*un*t h*e* Vill*a*te, s*cilicet*, Menstr*e*, Monketon*e*, & Villa S*ancti* Nich*ola*i.

14. Symon de Sandwyco tenet in Menstre j. feod. & j. q*u*art*er*. milit. de Abbate Sancti Augustini.
15. Steph*anus* Soldank*e* tenet in eadem j. feod. milit. de eodem.
16. Johannes de S*ancto* Laur*encio* tenet in ead*em* j. feod. milit. de eodem.
17. Robertus de Westgate tenet in ead*em* j. feod. milit. de eodem.

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18. Bert*r*annus (*Bertramus*) de Criol*e* tenet in Villa S*ancti* Nich*ola*i et Serre de Archiep*iscop*o, } j. feod.
19. Hugo de Lenee tenet in eadem de Archiep*iscop*o, }

[H]undr*edum* de [Wh]itstaple.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* s*un*t h*e* Villat*e*, scil*icet*, Blian & Whitstaple.

20. Will*el*m*us* de Wiltone tenet Villatam de Northwode que d*icitur* Whitestaple et est de Baronia Rob*er*ti de Douer'.

21. Robertus Wyulph tenet j. feod. in Blian de Honore Gloucestrie.
22. Magister de Hosprenge tenet dimid. feod. milit. in Tangertone infra Whitstaple de Roberto de Mescegros.
23. Johannes de Cundeshalle tenet j. quarter. feod. milit. de Willelmo Lungespeye & ille de Episcopo Lincolnensi.
24. Hugo de Cleruaus tenet terciam partem dimid. feod. in Blean de Honore Gloucestrie.
25. Johannes de Offham tenet in custodia cum heredibus Willelmi de Casteuille duas partes dimid. feodi de eodem Honore in Sualcliue.

[H]undredum de Dunhamforde.

In eodem Hundredo sunt he Villate, scilicet, Wykham, Littlebourne, Ykham, Adesham, Stodmersse.

26. Willelmus Lungespeye tenet Wykham per seriantiam de Episcopo Lincolnensi.
27. Reginaldus de Cornhulle tenet Lugedale de Abbate Sancti Augustini.
28. Johannes de Woltone tenet in eadem dimid. feod. milit. de eodem Abbate.
29. Johannes le Pakkere tenet in eadem terciam partem dimid. feod. de eodem Abbate.
30. Johannes de Grenewere tenet in eadem terciam partem dimid. feod. de eodem Abbate.
31. Johannes de Wyngate tenet in eadem terciam partem dimid. feod. de eodem.
32. Radulphus de Garwyntone & Willelmus de Camera tenet dimid. feod. in eadem de eodem.

[H]undredum de [W]estgate.

33. Heredes Roberti de Sewane j. feod. in Meletone de Comite Gloucestrie de Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.*
34. Johannes le Taillour j. quarter. in Wyke de Archidiacono.

* No. 33 is placed in Dunhamforde Hundred by our text, but on the authority of the Cottonian MS. I place it in Westgate.

[H]undr*edum* de [B]leangate.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* sun*t* h*e* Ville, scil*icet*, Chistelet & Reacoulure.

35. Will*elm*u*s* de Hegham tenet j. quarter. feod. milit. in Chistelet de Abb*at*e Sancti Augustini.
36. Will*elmus* de Beauueis*e* tenet j. q*uart*er. feod. milit. in ead*em* de eodem.
37. Steph*anus* Soldank tenet in ead*em* j. quart*er*. de eodem.
38. Will*elmus* de Sualecliue tenet in ead*em* j. q*uart*er. feod. milit. de eod*em* Steph*an*o.
39. Tene*n*tes t*errarum* q*ue* fu*er*un*t* Will*elm*i de Schoford*e* in Stormuhe j. feod. de Arch*iepiscop*o.
40. Hered*es* Th*om*e de Sturmuthe viij^{am} p*artem* feod. in Sturmuthe de eod*em*.

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41. Hamo de Makebrok*e* dimid. feod. de eodem.

Hundr*edum* de Wyngham.

42. Walter*us* de Goshal*e* & h*eredes* de Vlmis ij. feod. de Archiep*iscop*o.
43. Her*es* de Retlinge j. feod. de eodem.
44. Will*elm*u*s* de Auerenches j. feod. in fflettes de eodem.
45. Tenentes t*er*re Ric*ard*i Musard*e* di*mid*. feod. in Hethe de eodem.
46. Her*es* Bert*r*ami de Criole j. feod. in Euerlond*e* de eodem.
47. Hered*es* Walt*er*i le Botiler dimid. feod. in fflet*e* de eod*em*.
48. Her*es* Rob*er*ti de Sewanniz j. feod. in Welmestone de eod*em*.
49. Ric*ard*us de Dene viij^{am} p*artem* feod. in Dene de eodem.
50. Joh*an*nes de Godwynestone iiij^{am} p*ar*tem feod. de eodem.
51. Thom*as* de Acholte viij^{am} p*ar*tem feod. in Wengham de eodem.
52. Alanus de Twitham iiij^{am} p*ar*tem feod. in ead*em* de eodem.

Hundr*edum* de Prestone.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* sun*t* h*e* Villate, scil*icet*, Prestone & Eilmerstone.

53. Joh*an*nes de Bernefeud*e* tenet j. feod. de Abb*at*e Sancti Augustini.

54. Symon de Sandwyco ten*et* Man*er*iu*m* de P*re*ston*e* de eod*em* ad feodi firma*m*.

Hundr*edum* de Pecham (*Petham*).

In eodem Hundr*edo* su*n*t Pecham (*Petham*) & Waltham.

55. Warreis*ius* de Valoynes tenet j. feod. in Suertlinge de Arch*iepiscopo*.

56. ffurme*n*tin*us* de Whetacr*e* ten*et* in Whetacr*e* de eod*em* Arch*iepiscopo* di*mid*. feod.

Lestus de Hedelynge.

In eodem Lesto su*n*t tria Hundr*eda*, scil*icet*, Eastry, Quernilo, et Beawesberghe.

Hundr*edum* de Quernilo.

In eodem Hundred*o* su*n*t he Villat*e*, scil*icet*, Northbourne, Walemere, Rydelyngwelde.

57. Willelmus de Criol*e* tenet in eodem de Schueldene in Northbourne dimid. feod. milit. de Matild*a* de Schoueldene.

58. Matild*a* de Schoueldon*e* tenet alt*er*am medietat*em* pro dimid. feod. milit. de Abb*at*e Sancti Augustini.

59. Steph*anus* Soldank tenet in Estsuttone tres p*ar*tes j. feodi milit. de eod*em*.

60. Th*omas* Northbynne ten*et* in ead*em* j. q*u*art. feod. milit. de eod*em* Steph*a*no.

61. Regin*aldus* de Cobham ten*et* in dote*m* vx*oris* sue j. feod. milit. in Westsutton de Abb*ate*.

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62. Petrus de Betlesangr*e* t*enet* in ead*em* di*mid*. feod. milit. de Werres*io* de Valoines.

63. Symo*n* de Sandwyco t*enet* in Rippele j. feod. milit. de Barth*olomeo* de Badelesmer*e*.

64. Nich*olaus* de Criole t*enet* Man*er*iu*m* de Walmer*e* p*ro* j. feod. milit. de Honor*e* de ffolkestan*e*.

65. Will*elmus* de Wiltone t*enet* Man*er*iu*m* de Ridelinwald*e* de Baronia Rob*er*ti de Douer'.

66. Symon de Sandwyco tenet j. quart. feod. milit. in Woldinge de predicto Willelmo.

Hundredum de [B]eausbergh'.

In eodem Hundredo sunt he Villate, scilicet, Westcliue, Sancte Margarete, Riparia, Ewelle, Colrede, Sibertesweslde.

67. Gilbertus Peche tenet Villatam de Westcliue pro. j. feod. de domino Rege in capite.
68. Henricus de Cramauille tenet j. quart. feod. milit. in Soltone de domino Rege.
69. Magister Domus Dei Douor' tenet Manerium de Colrede de Willelmo de Say de Honore Maminet.
70. Henricus Malemayne tenet in Appeltone j. feod. milit. de Willelmo de Say.
71. Abbas Sancte Radegundis & Magister Domus Dei Douor' tenent j. feod. in Pissinge de Roberto de Sancto Johanne, vnde Magister terciam partem.
72. Johannes de Bikenore tenet in eadem dimid. feod. milit. de baronia Roberti de Sancto Johanne.
73. Johannes filius Roberti de Boyntone tenet dimid. feod. in Langedone de Nicholao de Criole et vxore sua.
74. Willelmus de Langedone tenet in eadem j. quarter. feod. milit. de eisdem.
75. Bartholomeus de Badelesmere tenet dimid. feod. in Beaufeld de Abbate Sancti Augustini.
76. Willelmus de Criole tenet j. quart. feod. in Lynacre de eodem Abbate.
77. Matilda de Schoueldone tenet in eadem j. quarter de eodem Abbate.
78. Willelmus de Orlawestone tenet in Popeshalle dimid. feod. de Roberto de Sancto Johanne.
79. Henricus de Hugham & Robertus Monyn tenent j. quarter. in Northpopeshalle de Radulpho de Chetwode.
80. Symon de Wykham dimid. feod. milit. in eadem de Symone de Holte.
81. Willelmus de Suantone tenet dimid. feod. in eadem de Henrico Malemayns.

82. Radulphus de Cestretone tenet in eadem dimid. feod. in Coclescumbe de Willelmo de Say.
83. Abbas Sancte Radegundis tenet j. feod. in Poltone de domino Rege.
84. Stephanus de Bottone (*Boctone*) tenet dimid. feod. in la Kersonere de Reginaldo de Cobham.
85. Robertus de Hugham tenet j. feod. in eadem de Willelmo de Wyltone.
86. Ida de Say tenet j. quarter. in Little Hugham de eodem Willelmo.
87. Stephanus Manekyn tenet j. quarter. in Maxtone de eodem Willelmo.
88. Johannes de Herst tenet j. quarter. feod. in Sybertestone de eodem Willelmo.
89. Georgius de Douer' tenet c. acras terre in Riparia per seriantiam de domino Rege.
90. Eudo de Silinghelde j. quarter. de Roesia de Douor' in Siberteswaude.

Hundredum de Eastry.

In eodem Hundredo sunt he Villate, scilicet, Wodnesberghe, Cnoltone, Betles Hangre, Waldweschare, Heghorne, Tilmanstone, & Eastry.

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91. Henricus Malemayns tenet in Wodnesbourghe tria quarter. & dimid. quarter. feod. Hamone de Creuequer.
92. Johannes filius Nicholai de Sellinge tenet in eadem tamen & de eodem.
93. Radulphus Haket tenet j. feod. in Hamwolde de Willelmo de Say et in Hampford & in Cranebroke.
94. Radulphus Pyrot tenet tria feod. milit. in Knoltone de domino Edwardo de Honore Anay (*Augy*). Et de istis tribus feodis sunt feoffati Alanus Perot Heres Alani de Tilmanstone, Rogerus de Catesdene (*? Gatesdene*) & Symon Ercheslo.
95. Johannes Tancre tenet j. feod. milit. in Betleshangre de Roberto de Sancto Johanne.

96. Symo*n* de Sandwyco ten*et* di*mid.* feod. milit. in Hamme de eod*em* Rob*er*to.
97. Joh*an*nes fil*ius* Bernardi ten*et* di*mid.* feod. in ead*em* de eodem Rob*er*to.
98. Henr*icus* Malemeyns ten*et* j. feod. & di*mid.* milit. in Waldwareschar*e* de W*illelmo* de Say.
99. Symo*n* de Holte ten*et* di*mid.* feod. milit. in Denintone de eodem W*illelmo.*
100. Ric*ard*us filius Steph*an*i tenet in Geddyngge xvj. p*ar*tem feod. milit. de Rob*er*to de Northbrok*e.*
101. Hamo de Soles ten*et* di*mid.* feod. in Soles de Ric*ard*o Rokesle.—Nota b*e*ne
102. Joh*an*nes de Soles ten*et* di*mid.* feod. in eadem de eodem.
103. Rad*ulph*us Colkyn ten*et* tres p*ar*tes j. feod. in Eswall*e* de W*illelmo* de Say.
104. Rog*er*us de Kenardyntone ten*et* j. q*u*arter. in ead*em* de eodem.
105. Ricardus Herewarde ten*et* j. quarter in Berfreystone de Joh*anne* de Tauncre de Honore R*oberti* de S*ancto* Joh*an*ne.
106. Her*edes* Desiderate ten*ent* j. q*u*arter. in ead*em* de eodem Honore.
107. Henr*icus* de Apuldrefeud ten*et* in ead*em* di*mid.* feod. milit. de W*illelmo* de Say.
108. Will*elmus* de Berchangr*e* ten*et* in ead*em* j. feod. de Symone fil*io* Ade.
109. Eudo de Silinghelde ten*et* j. q*u*arter. in Elmyntone de Henr*ico* Malem*eyns.*
110. Will*elmus* de Schringlinge ten*et* j. feod. milit. in ead*em* de Hamone de Creuequer*e.*

S*um*ma Lesti Sancti Augustini cum Hundr*edo* de Wengham—xxxv. feod. & j. qua[*rter*].

Lestus de Schipweye.

In eodem Lesto sunt Hundr*eda*, *scilicet*, Oxenal, Aloluesbrugge, Hundr*edum* de S*ancto* Martino, Langeport, Wurthe, Newecherche, Hamme, Strate, Aldyntone, Stutingtone, Hean, Nonyberghe, ffolkestane.

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Hundredum de Oxenal.

In eodem Hundredo sunt he Borghe, scilicet, Palstre, Knokke, Cristinmunde, Bregge, Ouenhamme, & Westrichesshamme.

111. Heredes Philippi de Palstre tenet in eadem j. quarter. feod. milit. de Hamone de Creuequer.

Hundredum de Aloluesbregge.

In eodem Hundredo sunt Borge Chasthame, Betlinghope, Homohilde *(Honichilde)*, Snaues, Broke, fflothame, Misteshame, & Beneqwike.

112. Johannes de Snaues tenet in eadem dimid. feod. milit. de Abbate Sancti Augustini.

113. Willelmus de Schokenesse tenet in eadem dimid. feod. milit. de eodem.

114. Geruasius Alard tenet j. quarter. milit. in Snergate de Archiepiscopo.

Hundredum de Langeport.

In eodem Hundredo sunt he Borge:—Northone, Oswardestone, Langeport, Lyde, & Dengemersse.

115. Rogerus de Romene tenet dimid. feod. milit. in Langeport de Johanne filio Bernardi.

116. Mabilia de Prumhelle tenet j. feod. ibi de Archiepiscopo.

117. Godryngus de Rype tenet quartam partem feod. milit. in Lide de domina de Meyhame.

118. Radulphus de Northmanuille tenet dimid. feod. in Cokride de domino Rege.

119. Aluredus de Dener tenet j. quarter. in dotem uxoris sue in Schingledehall de eodem.

Hundredum de Worthe.

In eodem Hundredo sunt he Borge:—Wydeflete, Borwarmersse, Dunemersse, Orgareswyke, Blakemanstone, Eastbregge minor, et Eastbregge maior.

120. Magister Domus de Hospringe tenet j. feod. in Trianestone de domino Rege de Honore de Partico.

121. Nicholaus de Marynes tenet j. feod. in Blakemanstone de eodem Honore.

122. Heres Willelmi de Tatenhame tenet xvj^{am} partem feod. in eadem de Hugone de Vnion (*Viuonia*).

123. Magister Domus Dei Douor' tenet Manerium de Eastbregge

124. Laurencius & Willelmus de Tonge tenent xxx. partem feod de Nicholao de Marines.

Hundredum de Newecherche.

In eodem Hundredo sunt Borge Honichilde, Westacre de ffraxino, Bylsyntone, Hamynghcrst, Rokynge, Bocheborgh'.

125. Dominus Rex tenet in manu sua dimid. feod. in Siloues bregge vt escaetam suam.

126. Thomas filius Alolin tenet dimid. feod. in Rokinge de domino Rege de Honore de Pertico.

127. Johannes Horlawstone tenet ibidem dimid. feod. de eoden Honore.

128. Ricardus Organistre tenet j. quarter. in Newechirche de Archiepiscopo.

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129. Johannes Colebraund & Walterus le Blund tenent xvj^{a} partem feod. de Philippo de Columbario (*sic*).

Hundredum de Hamme.

In eodem Hundredo sunt Bogge (*Borge*) Werehorne, Orlawestone, Siburnode, Easthamme, Hamme, Hospittal' Attebourne

130. Willelmus de Orlawestone tenet ij. feod. in eadem de Honore de Haghenet.

Hundredum de Strete.

In eodem Hundredo sunt Borge Suthsellynge, Bonynton Strete, Wylmyntone, Herste, Wylhope, Ostrynghangre.

131. Hugo de Vnion' (*Viuonia*) tenet in Sellinge j. feod. de domino Rege de Honore de Pertico.

132. Nicholaus de Marynes tenet j. feod. milit. in Oterpole de eodem,

133. Jacob*us* de Wylmintone ten*et* in ead*em* j. q*u*arter. de Hug*one* de Vnion' (*Viuonia*).
134. Henr*icus* Louel ten*et* j. q*u*arter. in eodem de d*omi*no Rege.
135. Nich*olau*s de Hadlo ten*et* j. feod. in Strete de eodem.
136. Jacobus de Wylmyntone ten*et* in ead*em* j. feod. de p*re*dicto N*icholao*.
137. Idem Jacob*us* ten*et* xvj. p*artem* in Suanetone de Arch*iepiscop*o.
138. Nich*olau*s de Criol*e* ten*et* j. feod. in Hostringhangr*e* de eodem.
139. Henr*icus* de Schorne *tenet* in Bekeshurst viij^{am} p*artem* j. feod. de p*redic*to N*icholao*.
140. Godefr*idus* le ffaukener *tenet* in Herste p*er* ser*iant*i*am* de d*omi*no Rege.
141. P*r*ior Hospit*alis* S*anct*i Joh*ann*is *tenet* di*mid*. feod. in Bouyntone de Honore de P*er*tico.
142. Rogerus de Bouyntone & Joh*ann*a de ead*em* *tenent* di*mid*. feod. in ead*em* de p*redic*to P*r*iore.
143. Alexander de Sturtone *tenet* j. q*u*arter. in ead*em* de Henr*ico* Malemeyns.

Hundr*edum* de Hean.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* su*n*t Borg*e* Postingle (*sic*), Saltwod*e*, & Th'one.

144. Ph*ilippu*s de Colu*m*bar*iis* *tenet* ij. feod. milit. in Postling*e* de Honor*e* de P*er*tico.
145. Her*edes* Ingelrammi de Preaus *tenent* in Th'one di*mid*. feod. milit. de Arch*iepiscop*o.
146. Joh*ann*es Edwy ten*et* xl^{am} p*artem* feod. in Blakewose de Arch*iepiscop*o.

Hundr*edum* de Nonybergh'.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* su*n*t Villat*e* Lym*m*ynge & Elham.

147. Marg*er*ia de Meletone tenet j. feod. milit. in Ouerland*e* de Honore Comitisse Angy (*Augy*).
148. Symon de Holte ten*et* j. quarter. feod. milit. in Halirede de her*edibus* Will*el*m*i* de Auberuile.

149. Andreas de Oxerode & Willelmus de Mountes tenent j. quarter. feod. milit. in Oxerode de Honore Comitisse Angy (*Augy*).

150. Heredes Willelmi de Cosyntone tenent ij. feod. milit. in Acrise de baronia de Ros.

Hundredum de Stutyngtone.

In eodem Hundredo sunt he Ville:—Elmestede & Hortone.

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151. Stephanus Heryngode tenet j. feod. milit. in Stutynge de Honore Comitisse Angy (*Augy*).

152. Hamo de Chagworthe tenet j. quarter. feod. milit. de Archiepiscopo.

153. Prior de Hortone v^am^ partem in eadem.

154. Thomas de Marynes j. quarter. in Elmestede.

155. Robertus de Hardres tenet j. quarter. in Sellinge de Comite Gloucestrie.

156. Johannes de Wadehale tenet dimid. feod. milit. in Wadenhale de Archiepiscopo.

157. Ricardus Regge & Willelmus de Leg' tenent viij^am^ partem feod. de Henrico Malemayns.

Bircholte.

158. Willelmus de Euerle tenet in Byrcholte iij. quarter. feod.

Hundredum de ffolkestane.

In eodem Hundredo sunt he Ville:—ffolkestane, Newyntone, Ceryntone, Alkham, Swynefelde, Hauekynge, & medietas de Ledenne.

159. Hamo de Creuequer tenet ffolkestane integre de baronia de Albrincis.

160. Nicholaus de Criole tenet in Swynefelde ij. feod. milit. & dimid. de eadem baronia.

161. Heres et filius Willelmi de Swynefeud tenet in eadem j. feod. milit. de eadem.

162. Johannes filius Roberti de Boyntone tenet dimid. feod. milit. in eadem de eadem.

163. Heredes Henrici de Eueringe tenent j. feod. milit. in Eueringe de eadem.

164. Thomas de Alkham & participes sui tenent dimid. feod. milit. in eadem de eadem.

165. Henricus Malemeyns tenet dimid. feod. milit. in Alkham de eadem.

166. Willelmus de fflege, Robertus de Hugham & Johannes de Coumbe tenent j. feod. in Haukynge de eadem.

167. Walrannus de Cerytone tenet ij. feod. milit. & dimid. in Cerytone de eadem.

168. Symon le' Boue, Thomas de Cassebourne, Ricardus de Sechuile, Robertus Redwyne & Willelmus Abbas de Langdone, Emma de Cassebourne et eorum participes tenent j. feod. & dimid. de predicto Walranno.

169. Bertramus de Criole tenet in Combe dimid. feod. milit. de predicta baronia.

170. Walterus de Eynebroke tenet in eadem j. feod. milit. de eadem baronia.

171. Johannes de Gysores tenet j. quarter. milit. quod fuit escaeta domini Regis in Morhall per seriantiam de Willelmo de Valence.

172. Hamo de Creuequer tenet j. quarter. quod vocatur Holemedyn ffolkestane separatim, quod Robertus frater ejus emit de eadem Baronia.

Summa feodorum in Schipweya—xxxvij. iij. quarter.

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LESTUS DE SCRAWYNGHOP'.

In eodem Lesto sunt viij. Hundreda & dimid., scilicet, ffelebergh', Boctone, ffauersham, Wy, Tenham, Calehulle, Chertham, Langebregge, & dimid. Hundredum de Bircholte.

Hundredum de ffelebergh'.

In eodem Hundredo sunt Ville Chilham, Godmersham, Chertham.

173. Willelmus de Wyltone tenet ij. feod. milit. in Chilham & Wyt'bregge de domino Rege.

174. Willelmus le Jeofne tenet j. feod. milit. in Chilham de Willelmo de Wyltone.

175. Johannes de Herst tenet j. feod. milit. in Herst & Syberte-stone de eodem Willelmo.

176. Eudo de Silynghelde tenet dimid. feod. milit. de eodem Willelmo.

177. Heredes Roberti de Chilham tenent dimid. feod. milit. de eodem Willelmo.

178. Willelmus de Eastesture tenet dimid. feod. milit. de eodem Willelmo.

179. Robertus de Eastesture tenet dimid. feod. milit. de eodem Willelmo.

180. Bartholomeus de Badelesmere tenet dimid. feod. milit. in Hortone de Hamone de Creuequere.

181. Willelmus de Schamelesford' tenet dimid. feod. milit. in eadem de Roberto de B . . tone (? *Boutone*).

Hundredum de Wy.

In eodem Hundredo sunt Villate, scilicet, Boctone, Wy, Welle, Crundale, Broke.

182. Stephanus de Boutone tenet in eadem j. feod. milit. de Honore Bononie.

183. Johannes de Criole tenet in Welle & Schingledehalle ij. feod. milit. de Honore de Pertico.

184. Johannes de Plesetis & Agnes Heuse tenent j. quarter. in Dene de Archiepiscopo.

185. Stephanus de la Haye tenet dimid. feod. milit. de Willelmo de Say in Beamondestone.

186. Johanna de Apuldrefeud tenet in Oterpleghe j. quarter. de eodem Willelmo.

187. Willelmus de Bekewelle tenet j. feod. milit. in eadem de Honore Arsike.

188. Philippus de Cumbe tenet j. feod. in eadem de Bertramo de Criolis (*sic*).

189. Bertramus de Criole tenet dimid. feod. milit. in Essmersfelde de Abbate Sancti Augustini.

190. Nicholaus de Haudlo tenet j. feod. milit. in Crundale de Comite Gloucestrie.

191. Werrina de ffoghelestone tenet dimid. feod. in eadem de Hamone filio Hamonis de Valoynes.
192. Hamo filius Hamonis de Valoynes tenet dimid. feod. milit. in Tremeworthe de Honore Gloucestrie.
193. Bartholomeus Tysoun & participes sui tenent dimid. feod. milit. in Holeforde de eodem Honore.
194. Adam de Somery tenet dimid. feod. milit. in ffaunes (ffannes) de Comite Insule.
195. Isaak de Wylmyntone tenet Wylmyntone per seriantiam de Honore Bononie.

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Hundredum de ffauersham.

In eodem Hundredo Villate Truleghe, Stupesdone, Stalesfelde, Ores, Hospringe, Badelesmere, Westwode, Ludenham, Chetham, Ewelle, ffauersham, Prestone, Leuelonde, Scheldwych, Godwynestone, Eslynge, Burdefelde, Newenham, Northone, Herteye, Borga de Silegraue, Borga de Rode, Borga de Herst, Borga de Wylgare.

196. Robertus de Gattone tenet j. feod. & dimid. feod. milit. in Truleghe de domino Rege.
197. Johannes de Cobham tenet in Burdefelde dimid. feod. milit. de Roberto de Campania.
198. Robertus de Campania tenet j. feod. & iij. quarter. in Northone & Newenham in manu sua de Roberto de Sancto Johanne tamen defendit tria feod. integra uersus eundem.
199. Willelmus de Viane tenet j. quarter. in Northone de Roberto Campania.
200. Heredes Galfridi de Sconyntone tenent j. quarter. de predicto Roberto.
201. Willelmus de Viane tenet vnum quarter. de Manerio de Ospringes.
202. Heredes Galfridi de Sconyntone tenent vnum quarter. de predicto Roberto.
203. Johannes de ffissebourne tenet dimid. feod. milit. de Roberto de Campania.

204. Heredes Galfridi de Sconyntone tenent vnum quarter. de predicto Roberto.
205. Reginaldus de Cornhelle tenet vnum feod. milit. & dimid. in Stalesfelde & Ores de Hospitale Sancti Johannis.
206. Henricus de Wyntfelde & Ricardus de eadem tenent vnum quarter. feod. milit. in Stalesfelde de eodem Reginaldo.
207. Henricus de Cornhelle Johannes & Reginaldus fratres eius tenent xv. libratas terre in eadem vnusquisque eorum c. solidatas.
208. Philippus le Ken & participes sui tenent j. quarter, in Ospringe de domino Rege.
209. Bartholomeus de Badelesmere tenet j. feod. milit. in Badelesmere Lambedene & Herteya de Hamone de Creuequere.
210. Ricardus de Rokesle tenet vnum feod. milit. in Westwode de Hamone de Creuequere.
211. Robertus de Sortho de Ludenham tenet in eadem vnum feod. milit. de Willelmo de Wyltone.
212. Ricardus filius Johannis Peyferer tenet dimid. feod. milit. in Boklonde.
213. Willelmus de Pirye tenet vnum feod. milit. in eadem de Hamone Creuequere.

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214. Idem Willelmus de Pyrie tenet j. quarter. in Godwynestone de Comite Leycestrie.
215. Johannes de Sellynge tenet j. quarter. in eadem de eodem.
216. Robertus Daneys (?Daueys) tenet j. quarter. in eadem de eodem.
217. Johanna de Godwynestone tenet j. quarter. in eadem de eodem.
218. Radulphus de Crendone (?Grendone) tenet j. feod. in Leuelonde de Archiepiscopo.
219. Laurencius de Sancto Michaele tenet j. quarter. in Scheldwych de Honore Gloucestrie.
220. Johannes de Eslynge tenet j. feod. in eadem de Willelmo de Wiltone, & dimid. feod. in Codeslonde.
221. Johannes de Dyue tenet in eadem dimid. feod. de eodem.

222. Symon de Chelesfelde tenet dimid. feod. in eadem de eodem.
223. Johannes filius Ernaldi tenet in eadem dimid. feod. de predicto Symone.
224. Radulphus de Eslynge tenet in eadem dimid. feod. milit. de Johanne de Dyue.
225. Bartholomeus de Moristone tenet j. quarter. in Herst.

Hundredum de Kalehulle.

In eodem Hundredo sunt Villate Cerrynge, Westwelle, Littlecherche, Edgardyntone, Pyuyntone, Plukele & Smeredenne.

226. Willelmus de Pyuintone tenet. j. feod. milit. in eadem de Willelmo de Say.
227. Henricus Malemeyns & Johannes de Sellinge tenent j. feod. & tria quarter. de Archiepiscopo.

Hundredum de Boutone.

In eodem Hundredo sunt Villate Sellinge, Boutone, Harewelle & Grauene.

228. Johannes de Grauene tenet in eadem ij. feod. milit. de Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.
229. Nicholaus de Hadlo tenet j. feod. in Lenham de Archiepiscopo.

Hundredum de Chert.

In eodem Hundredo sunt Villate Chert, Beatrichesdenne & Hatfelde.

230. Werresius de Valoynes tenet dimid. feod. in Raptone de Abbate Sancti Augustini.
231. Willelmus de Wiltone tenet per vxorem suam j. quarter. milit. in Hatfelde de Archiepiscopo per seriantiam.
232. Walterus Killard tenet j. quarter. milit. in Sadherst de Philippo de Columbariis.
233. Johannes de Criole tenet terciam partem j. feod. de Bartholomeo de Badelesmere in Lamberdenne.

Hundr*edum* de Langebregg*e*.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* s*un*t Vill*a*t*e* M*er*sham, Seyentone, Kyngesnode, Essettesford*e*, Wynelesb*er*gh*e*, Kenynton & Henxhulle.

234. Petrus de Haukewell*e* tenet dimid. feod. milit. in Seeuetone de Hamone de Creuequer*e*.

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235. Symo*n* de Criol*e* ten*et* ij. feod. in Essettesford*e* de Honor*e* de P*er*tico.

236. Ricardus de Pontone (&) Thom*as* de ead*em* tene(n)t terciam p*ar*tem vnius feod. in Seeuetone de Symone de Criole.

237. Rob*ertus* fil*ius* Rob*ert*i de Eastesture *tenet* j. feod. milit. in ead*em* de p*redicto* Sym*one*.

238. Joh*annes* Barry ten*et* *ter*ciam p*artem* vni*us* feod. in ead*em* de eodem.

Dimidium Hundr*edum* de Bircholte.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* sunt Villat*e* Braburn*e*, Hastingleghe, Westbrabourne, & Begeham.

239. Ric*ard*us Hak*un* tenet per vxor*em* suam tres p*ar*tes vnius feod. in Hastingeleghe de Com*ite* Leycestr*ie*.

240. Joh*annes* Pound ten*et* di*mid*. feod. milit. in Brabourne de eodem.

241. Rog*er*us de Monfrearde *tenet* di*mid*. feod. milit. in Bircholte de Ph*ilipp*o de Columbar*iis*.

242. Ric*ard*us fil*ius* Nich*ol*ai, Will*elmus* ffrankeleyn & Symon de Aldelose ten*ent* di*mid*. feod. milit. in Aldelose de Will*elm*o de Say.

Hundr*edum* de Tenham.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* s*un*t Villat*e* Tenham, Lyndestede & Dodyntone.

243. Symo*n* de Dodyntone ten*et* di*mid*. feod. de Arch*iepiscopo*. (" Middeltone," *written in the margin*.)

244. Johannes de Scharstede tenet xl^am^ partem feod. de Archiepiscopo. ("Merdene," *written in the margin.*)

Summa feod. Lesti de Scrawynghope—xlij. dimid.

SEPTEM HUNDREDA IN BALLIUA DE CASINGHAM.

Dimidium Hundredum Roluyndenne.

In eodem Hundredo sunt Ville Borge de Hathwoldenne, de Newendenne, Meyhamme, Deuerdenne.

245. Rogerus de Bynindenne tenet j. feod. in Bynindenne de Comite Herfordie.

246. Henricus Malemeyns dimid. feod. in Meyhamme de Honore Angy (*Augy*).

247. Helewysia de Meyhamme tenet dimid. feod. in eadem de eodem.

248. Henricus Abchery Heymondenne tenet j. quarter. in eadem de eodem Honore.

249. Abbas de Ponte Roberti tenet tria quarter. in Heymondenne de Honore Augy.

250. Willelmus de Kassyngham tenet xx^am^ partem feod. in Meyhamme de Archiepiscopo.

251. Idem Willelmus tenet xx^am^ partem feod. milit. in Deuerdenne de Archiepiscopo.

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252. Lambinus de Langham tenet dimid. feod. in Meyham de Homone (*Hamone*) de Creuequere.

253. Willelmus de Casingham tenet xx. libratas terre & non est miles.

Hundredum de Badekeleghe.

In eodem Hundredo Ville Ynyndene, Omyndene, Ylordene & Stephurst.

254. Heres Symonis de Edehulle tenet viij^am^ partem feod. in Haldehalle de Willelmo de Pyuyntone.

Hundr*edum* de Cranebroke.

In eodem Hundr*edo* sunt Borg*a* de la Bele Crugge, B*orga* de Suth, B*orga* de North, Borg*a* de Smethediche.

255. Eustaci*us* de Hamstede ten*et* illa*m* p*artem* feod. milit. in Borg*a* de Suth, de Rad*ulph*o Haket p*er* illud feod. quod tenet in Hamwolde.

Hundr*edum* de Schelbrichtesdenne.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* sunt Borg*a* del East, B*orga* de West & B*orga* de North.

256. Th*omas* fil*ius* Alcheri ten*et* j. quarter. feod. milit. de P*r*iore de Ledes.

257. Idem Thom*as* fil*ius* Alcher*i* tenet j. quarter. in Lessenham de Rad*ulph*o de S*ancto* Leodegario.

258. Rob*ertus* le Daf t*enet* vj^{am} p*artem* f(e)od. milit. in Sandherst de Bert*r*amo de Criole.

Hundr*edum* de Twymward'.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* sunt Borg*e* de Twymhardenne & Godemt*er*, Danegebourne, Easserdenne, Scorbetone, Burwardesile, & Eastwysele.

259. Rog*er*us de Goden tenet j. feod. milit. in Goden de Steph*an*o de la Haye.

260. Joh*an*nes de Ores & Ric*ard*us de eadem ten*ent* xl^{am} p*ar*tem feod. in ffrethningheye de Ph*ilipp*o de Columbar*iis*.

Hundr*edum* de Blakebourne.

In eod*em* Hundredo sunt Borg*e* de Kenardyntone, Apuldre, Hatfelde, Yorindenne, Redgwere, Harlakendenne, Haringhame, Newendenne, Tykendenne, Halebergh', & Kelche. (In margin "Villat*a* de Newendene.")

261. Radulphus de Normanuile tenet j. feod. in Kenardyntone et Kokery de Honore de Aghenet.

262. Ric*ardus* de la Tunlande t*enet* di*mid*. feod. in Redgweye de escaet*ore* dom*i*ni Regis.

263. Johannes filius Joce, Luca de ecclesia & heredes Willelmi Josce tenent j. quarter. in Ponyndenne de Helewysie de Meyham.

Summa feod. vij. Hundredorum—vj. dimid. & j. quarter.

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Dimidium Hundredum de Bernefelde.

Borge del Suth et del North.

ffeoda Hundredi de Middeltone.

264. Johannes filius Bernardi tenet in Tonge ij. feod. de Roberto de Sancto Johanne.
265. Bartholomeus de Moristone tenet vnum feod. de eodem.
266. Robertus de Raleghe tenet ad firmam de heredibus Willelmi Malet dimid. feod. de Archiepiscopo.
267. Rogerus de Northwode tenet xx^am partem feod. de domino Rege.
268. Thomas Abelyn tenet vnum feod. de eodem domino Rege.

LESTUS DE EYLESFORD'.

In eodem Lesto sunt Hundreda de Roffen', Schamele, Tobintre (*Toltintre*), Wrotham, Littlefelde, Wechelestone, Brenchele, Twyferde, Lauerkefelde, Eyhorne, Chetham, Hoo, Maydestane, dimid. Hundredum de Bernefeld, Leucata de Tonebregge & Villata de Mallinge.

Hundredum de Tobintre (*Toltintre*).

In eodem Hundredo sunt Villate Northflete, Mepham, Grauefende (*Grauesende*), Meletone, Luddesdone & Nutstede.

269. Henricus de Cramauile tenet in Grauefende (*sic*) vnum feod. de domino Rege.
270. Werrinus de montè Canisy tenet Villatam de Meletone infra baroniam suam.
271. Willelmus de Clonuile (*?Glanuile*) tenet in Paroke dimid. feod. milit. de predicto Werrino.

272. Rogerus de Luddesdone in Luddesdone dimid. feod. de eodem.

273. Willelmus filius Reymundi in Nuttestede tenet dimid. feod. in baronia Willelmi de Ros.

Dimidium Hundredum de Bernefelde.

274. Abbas de Boxle in Chingeleghe tenet (*left blank*) de domino Rege.

Hundredum de Lauerkefelde.

In eodem Hundredo sunt Villate Woldham, Eylesforde, Elyntone, Dyttone, Eastmallinge, Snodlande, Berlinge, Leybourne, Reyhersse, Adyntone, Opelande cum Ewelle & Offeham, Siffletone & Prestone & Tatintone.

275. Walterus de Sancto Johanne tenet dimid. feod. in Nessyndone infra Wodham de domino Rege.

276. Robertus biset tenet in Waldham j. quarter. feod. de Episcopo Roffensi.

277. Johannes de Criole tenet in eadem j. quarter. de predicto Roberto.

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278. Magister Hugo de Woldham tenet in eadem j. quarter. de Episcopo Roffensi.

279. Ricardus de Grey tenet Manerium de Eylesforde pro j. feod. milit. de domino Rege.

280. Ricardus de Rokesle tenet in Tetintone infra Eyleforde j. quarter. de Hamone de Creuequer.

281. Idem Ricardus tenet in Ekles dimid. feod. de Comite Insule.

282. Robertus de Lungchampe tenet in Elyntone dimid. feod. de Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.

283. Johannes de Marisco tenet in Prestone j. feod. milit. de predicto Archiepiscopo.

284. Radulphus de Schoforde tenet in Dyttone dimid. feod. de Comite Gloucestrie.

285. Willelmus de Bramptone tenet in eadem j. quarter. de eodem Radulpho.

286. Will*elmus* de Siffletone *tenet* di*mid.* feod. in ead*em* de eod*em* Rad*ulpho*.

287. Regin*aldus* Harynge *tenet* x^am^ *partem* feod. in Snodilonde de Ep*iscopo* Roff*ensi*.

288. Henricus de Peuenseye *tenet* duas p*ar*tes feod. in ead*em* de eod*em* Ep*iscopo*.

289. Anseli*nus* Lad *tenet* p*ar*tem vni*us* q*uart*er. feod. in ead*em* de eodem Ep*iscopo*.

290. Ric*ardus* le Veel *tenet* vj^am^ p*artem* feod. in ead*em* de eodem Ep*iscopo*.

291. Rob*ertus* de Engebergh' *tenet* x^am^ p*artem* feod. in Berlinge de W*illelmo* de Say.

292. Rad*ulphus* de Chetwode *tenet* j. q*uart*er. in Padelesworthe de eod*em* W*illelmo*.

293. Rog*erus* de Mounbray *tenet* Man*er*iu*m* de Ryersse ad baron*iam* sua*m*.

294. Galiena de Gurnay *tenet* j. feod. in Adyntone de Warino de mo*n*te Caniso.

295. Hugo de Cressy *tenet* di*mid.* feod. in Trottescliue de Ep*iscopo* Roff*ensi*.

296. Joh*ann*es Maletere *tenet* j. feod. in Offeham de Archi-*episcopo*.

297. Walt*er*us de Berstede *tenet* di*mid.* feod. in Ewelle de Ep*iscopo* Roff*ensi*.

298. Rog*er*us de Leybourne *tenet* di*mid.* feod. in eadem de eodem.

Hundr*edum* de Schamele.

In eodem Hundr*edo* su*n*t Villat*e* Culinge, ffrendesbere, Strode, Cukkestane, Hallinge, Cobham, Schorne, Chealke, Denyntone, Moristone, Hegham & Clyue.

299. Henr' (read Her*es*) Willelmi le Botiler *tenet* feod. in Culinge de Com*ite* Insule.

300. Symo*n* de Croye (*Creye*) *tenet* di*mid.* feod. in ead*em* de eodem herede.

301. Nicholaus de Ores tenet in eadem di*mid.* feod. de eodem herede.

302. Joh*annes* de S*ancto* Claro *tenet* in ffrendesbery di*mid.* feod. de W*illelmo* de Monchenesey.

303. Thomas de Prato tenet j. quarter. in eadem de eodem Johanne.

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304. Johannes Bonekake tenet j. quarter. in Strode de Symone de Chelesfelde.

305. Adam Gromyn tenet vnum quarter. in eadem de eodem Symone.

306. Magister domus Dei de Strode tenet vj^{am} partem feod. in Strode de eisdem Johanne & Ada.

307. Johannes de Kalesforde tenet dimid. quarter. in eadem de predicto Simone.

308. Johannes de Wadetone tenet duas partes dimid. feod. in Colestane (*sic*) de Reginaldo de Cobham.

309. Symon de Berbetinge (*Berbelinge*) tenet terciam partem dimid. feod. in eadem de eodem Reginaldo.

310. Episcopus Roffensis tenet vnum quarter. quod fuit Galfridi de Sundresse in eadem.

311. Adam de Langereche tenet viij^{am} partem vnius feod. in Hallinge de eodem.

312. Petrus de Camera tenet terciam partem vnius quarter. in eadem de eodem.

313. Rogerus de Bauenth, Thomas le Chiualer & Willelmus Martyn tenent j. quarter. in eadem de eodem.

314. Johannes de Cobham tenet x^{am} partem vnius feod. de heredibus de Quartremars.

315. Johannes de Neuile tenet in Schorne j. feod. de domino Rege.

316. Johannes de Burg' tenet Chalke cum barونia sua de Lamelyn.

317. Willelmus de Sancto Claro tenet dimid. feod. in Moristoi de Warino de Monchensy.

318. Johannes de Cobham tenet j. quarter. in Bekel.

319. Henricus de Peuenesse, Radulphus de Hakyntone (&) Johannes de Hakyntone tenent dimid. feod. in Heg-ham de Comite Insule.

320. Jordanus le Brun cum vxore sua tenet dimid. feod. in eadem de Warino de Monchenesy.

321. Matheus Sibby, Petrus de Schirlonde & Johannes Salamon tenent dimid. feod. in Clyue de Archiepiscopo.

322. Joh*annes* Monachus ten*et* j. feod. in ead*em* de Rog*ero* de Leyburn*e*.

323. Math*eus* de Exintone ten*et*. xxx. solid*atas* redd*itus* in eadem.

324. Joh*annes* de Dyue ten*et* in ead*em* lib*er*e de Com*ite* Aubemarl*ie*.

325. Joh*annes* de Cobham *tenet* j. q*u*arter. feod. in ead*em* de Laur*encio* de S*ancto* Mich*aele*.

Hundr*edum* de Ho.

In eodem Hundr*edo* sunt Villat*e* Stok*e*, Aleghestowe, O*mni*um S*anctorum*, S*ancte* Mar*ie* & S*ancte* Wereburg*e*.

326. Ric*ardus* de Crey & Nich*olaus* Poyn (*Poyntz*) *tenent* j. feod. in Vill*a* S*ancte* Wereburg*e* de Rege.

327. Abbas de Boxle *tenet* di*mid*. feod. in ead*em* de baron*ia* de Ros.

328. Theodorit*us* de Stok*e* *tenet* d*imid*. feod. in Stok*e* de Ep*iscopo* Roff*ensi*.

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329. Henr*icus* Malemeyns *tenet* j. feod. in Stok*e* & Begeham de d*omi*no Rege.

330. Abbas de Radyng' ten*et* xl. librat*as* terre libere in Ho.

Hundr*edum* de Chetham.

331. Hugo de Gillyngham ten*et* in ead*em* di*mid*. feod. de Arch*iepiscopo*.

332. Math*eus* de Hasting*e* ten*et* in ead*em* vnam seriantia*m* de d*omi*no.

333. ffulco de Scharstede *tenet* di*mid*. feod. & j. q*uarter*iu*m* in Chetham de Ham*one* de Creueq*uere*.

334. Barth*olome*us de Badelesm*ere* j. quarter. in eadem de eodem.

335. Rad*ulphus* de Glamuile (*Glanuile*) ten*et* j. quarter. in ead*em* de eodem.

336. Barth*olomeus* de Hadestok*e* cu*m* vx*ore* sua ten*et* in ead*em* j. q*uarter*. de eodem H*amone*.

Hundr*edum* de Twyferde.

In eodem Hundr*edo* sunt Villat*e* Netlestede, Wot*er*yngbery, ffarleghe, Therstan*e* & Huntintone.

337. Rad*ulphus* de Pympe t*enet* vnu*m* feod. in Halding*e* de Thom*a* de Warbletone.
338. Regin*aldus* de Snotebeam ten*et* di*mid.* feod. in eadem de eodem.
339. Will*elmus* de Lodeneford*e* ten*et* j. quart*er*. in eadem de eodem.
340. Dyonis*ia* & Sibill*a* ten*ent* di*mid.* feod. in eadem de eodem.
341. Her*edes* Hugon*is* de Bermondeseye t*enent* x^am^ p*artem* feod. in ead*em* de Com*ite* Glouc*estrie*.
342. Walt*erus* de Wahulle t*enet* j. feod. & di*mid.* in Nettlestede in de eodem.
343. Rodland' de Atstede t*enet* di*mid.* feod. de eodem Walt*er*o eadem.
344. Alex*ander* de Holgthe t*enet* di*mid.* feod. in ead*em* de eodem Walt*er*o.
345. Bartholomeus de Wot*er*ingb*er*y t*enet* j. feod. & di*mid.* in Wot*er*ingb*er*y de d*omi*no Ham*one*.
346. Prior de Ledes t*enet* v^am^ p*ar*tem feod. de eod*em* in eadem.
347. Rog*erus* fil*ius* Gilb*er*ti & Will*elm*i (*sic*) de P*ar*co t*enent* xvj^am^ p*artem* f(e)od. in ead*em* de eod*em* Bartho*lomeo*.
348. Petrus de Westbere t*enet* x^am^ p*ar*tem feod. de Symon*e* fil*io* Ade.
349. Will*elmus* de Thodesham t*enet* di*mid.* feod. in ffarleghe de Ham*one* Creuequere.
350. Gilb*er*tus de Cotesham t*enet* j. q*uart*er. in ead*em* de eodem Will*el*mo.
351. Joh*an*nes de Benstede ten*et* j. quarter. in ead*em* de eodem.

Hundr*edum* Roff*ensis*.

In eodem Hundr*edo* Ciuitas cum Suburbio.

352. Bartholomeus de Adestoke & Alic*ia* vx. eius ten*ent* duo feod. & di*mid.* in Delte (*Delce*).

353. Will*elmus* fili*us* Joh*ann*is de P*ar*ua Delte (*Delce*) t*enet* di*mid.* feod. in ead*em* de W*illelmo* de Say.

Hundr*edum* de Wrotham.

Villat*e* in eod*em*—Wrotham, Eltham (*? Eitham, for Ightham*), Santstede & Sybourne.

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Hundr*edum* de Brencheleg*he*.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* su*n*t Villat*e* Brenchele, Horsmu*n*denne & Lambehurst.

354. Ric*ardus* de Cnolle ten*et* di*mid.* feod. in Brenchel*e* de Thoma de Warbbutone.

355. Prior de Tonebregge j. q*uart*er. in Eastbokyngesfeld*e* de Georg*io* Chaun.

356. Ag*nes* Vse & Com*es* de Warewyke j. q*uart*er. in Cheleshull*e* de Com*ite* Glouc*estrie*.

357. Joh*annes* de la Haye j. q*uar*ter. in Horsmundenne de dicta Agn*ete*.

358. Nich*ola*us de Keneth iij. q*uar*ter. in Lambehurst*e* de Ham*one* de Creueq*uere*.

Hundredum de Littlefelde.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* su*n*t Ville Me*re*worthe, Magn*a* Pecham & Westpecham.

359. Will*elmus* de Mereworthe ten*et* ij. feod. in ead*em* de Com*ite* Glouc*estrie*.

360. ffulco de Markestede ten*et* *ter*cia*m* p*artem* feod. in ead*em* de eodem.

361. Ric*ardus* de Suanettone ten*et* di*mid.* feod. in ead*em* de Joh*anne* de Belewe.

362. Joh*annes* de Westpecham ten*et* j. seriant*iam* in ead*em* de d*omi*no Rege.

363. Id*em* Joh*ann*e*s* tenet xx. librat*as* terre de eodem.

Hundredum de Wethelestane.

In eod*em* Hundr*edo* su*n*t Ville Esserst, Splephurst (*sic*) & Meapinbery (*Peapinbery*).

364. Nich*ola*us de Gerunde ten*et* vj. (*vj*^{am}) p*ar*te*m* feod. d*omi*no Rege.
365. Walt*er*us de Dene ten*et* j. q*u*arter. in Spledhurst Rad*ulph*o de Chetwode.
366. Abbas de Begham ten*et* in (*left blank*) in Peapyngeber*y*.
367. Johannes de Tycheseya j. quarter. in Peapyngb*er*y.

Hundredum de Maydestan*e*.

In eodem Hundr*edo* su*n*t Ville Maydestan*e*, Boxle, Gran bramling*e*, Parua Bramlynge, Eastfarleghe.

368. Will*elmus* de Dettling*e* t*enet* Dettling*e* lib*er*e de d*omi* Arch*iepiscop*o p*er* feod. firma*m*. ("Morton," writt in the margin in a modern hand.)
369. ffilia Alani cl*er*ici t*enet* di*mid*. feod. in Sefford*e* de Sym*o* de Craye, & ip*s*e de Arch*iepiscop*o.
370. Joh*an*nes le Waleys ten*et* j. seriant*iam* in Boxle de d*omi* Rege.
371. Joh*an*nes Hagemond*e* tenet di*mid*. feod. in Sefford*e* (*left blank*).
372. Ingeramu*s* de Sefford*e* ten*et* j. q*u*art*er*. in ead*em* de (*l blank*).
373. Rob*ertus* de Barmling*e* t*enet* j. feod. in ead*em* de d*omi* Rege.
374. Rog*erus* de Kent t*enet* di*mid*. feod. in ead*em* de Thom*a* Warblinton*e*.
375. Steph*anus* de Barmling*e* ten*et* j. feod. in ead*em* de eode
376. ffulco Peyferer t*enet* duas p*ar*tes & di*mid*. feod. in ead de Com*ite* Glou*cestrie*.

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377. Moniale*s* de S*ancta* Elena Lond*onie* ten*ent* t*er*ciam p*ar*t di*mid*. feod. in ead*em* de eodem.

Hundr*edum* de Exhorne (*Eyhorne*).

In eodem Hundr*edo* su*n*t Villat*e* Turncham, Aldynton Stokebery, Bykenore, Holingbourn*e*, Worneshell*e*, Wrensted Wychelinge, Ot*er*ingdene, Becton*e* Malherbe, Lenham, Ol

combe, Hedecrone, Eastsuttone, Westsuttone, Cherche, Westbectone, Ledes, Langleghe, Otteham, Bergestede & Herietesham.

378. Regin*aldus* de Cobham *tenet* di*mid.* f(e)od. in Torneham de W*illelmo* de Say.
379. Mathe*us* de Eyntone tene*t* di*mid.* feod. in ead*em* de Regin*aldo* de Cobham.
380. Willelmus de Suneise tene*t* j. q*uarter.* in ead*em* de eod*em* Regin*aldo.*
381. Heres Ric*ard*i de Capella *tenet* j. quar*ter.* in ead*em* de eodem.
382. Arnaldus Briset *tenet* j. feod. in Aldyntone de d*omi*no Rege.
383. Rob*er*tus fil*ius* Rob*er*ti de Seuaunz *tenet* j. feod. in ead*em* de eodem.
384. Rob*er*tus de ffrenigham *tenet* in ead*em* j. q*u*arter. feod.
385. Nich*ol*aus de Criole tenet p*er* vxor*em* suam j. feod. & vj^am^ p*ar*tem feod. in Stokyngbery de d*omi*no Rege.
386. Arnald*us* le Sauag*e* tene*t* j. q*u*arter. in eadem de eodem N*icholao.*
387. Hub*ertus* la Viele *tenet* di*mid.* feod. in Bikenore de J*ohanne* Bernard'.
388. Joh*ann*es de Bikenore *tenet* di*mid.* feod. in ead*em* de Rob*er*to de S*ancto* Joh*ann*e.
389. Will*elmus* de Port tene*t* j. feod. in Eylnothyntone de eod*em* Rob*er*to.
390. Rob*er*tus de Gattone *tenet* j. feod. in Bettone (*Becton*) & Worneshulle de d*omi*no R*ege.*
391. Nich*olaus* de Gerunde *tenet* j. feod. in Esehurst in Wrenstede de d*omi*no R*ege.*
392. ffulco Peyferer *tenet* j. q*uarter.* in ead*em* de Ham*one* de Creuequere.
393. Joh*ann*es de Mares *tenet* di*mid.* feod. in Wychelinge de d*omi*no Rege.
394. Regin*aldus* de Cobham *tenet* j. q*uarter.* in ead*em* de eodem Joh*ann*e.
395. Willel*mus* de Oteryngdene *tenet* j. feod. in ead*em* de Rog*er*o de Leybourne.

396. Heres Thome Gregoz (*Tregoz*) *tenet* j. quarter. in eadem de eodem Rogero.

397. Robertus atte Doune *tenet* dimid. feod. in Lenham de Symone filio Ade.

398. Amisia de Schelue *tenet* dimid. feod. in eadem de Comite Insule.

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399. Ricardus de Rokesle *tenet* dimid. feod. in eadem de Roberto filio Walteri.

400. Ricardus de Sancto Le(o)degario *tenet* in Olecombe duo feod. de Archiepiscopo.

401. Adam de Risseforde *tenet* xl^{am} partem feod. in Hodecrone de domo de Hospringe.

402. Robertus de Ylleghe *tenet* dimid. feod. in Olecombe de Radulpho de Sancto Leodegario.

403. Hamo de Chagworthe *tenet* dimid. feod. in eadem de (*left blank*).

404. Rogerus de Mosewelle *tenet* vj^{am} partem feod. in eadem de (*left blank*).

405. Hugo de Ores *tenet* Manerium de Heryetesham pro j. feod. de domino Rege.

406. Johannes de Somery *tenet* dimid. feod. de eodem Hugone.

407. Thomas de Ho & Johanna vx. eius *tenent* j. quarter. in Herbetone de Henrico Malemeyns.

408. Symon de Mareys & Alicia vx. eius *tenent* j. quarter. in eadem de eodem.

409. Ricardus de Berghstede tenet dimid. feod. in eadem de Willelmo de Porth'.

410. Petrus de Otteham *tenet* feod. in eadem de Galfrido de Ros.

411. Rogerus de Leybourne *tenet* j. quarter. in Langeleghe de Comite Insule.

412. Willelmus de Brasinges *tenet* dimid. feod. de eodem Rogero in eadem.

413. Hamo de Creuequere *tenet* Manerium de Ledes ad baroniam suam de Rege.

414. Henricus de Ho *tenet* j. quarter. in eadem de domino Hamone.

415. Henricus de Ledes tenet xl. (xl^am) partem feod. de eodem Hamone in eadem.

416. Robertus de Hugham tenet dimid. feod. in eadem de Warino de Monchenesy.

417. Symon de Monteforti tenet Villatam de Westsuttone in dotem cum vxore sua.

418. Ricardus Martel tenet dimid. feod. in eadem de eodem Comite Simone.

419. Jacobus de Cherletone tenet dimid. feod. in Eastsuttone de Rogero de Leybourne.

Summa feodorum Lesti de Eylesforde (*left blank*).

LESTUS DE SUTTONE.

Hundredum de Westerham.

420. Robertus de Camuille tenet ij. feod. in Westerham et Ponte Edelmi de domino Rege.

421. Walterus de Stoke & Sibilla vx. eius tenent j. quarter. feod. in Bradested de Comite Gloucestrie.

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Hundredum de Somerdene.

422. Episcopus Roffensis tenet Manerium de Stanes cum baronia sua.

423. Laurencius de Broc tenet dimid. feod. in Stanes de Willelmo Butailes.

Hundredum de Acstane.

424. Johannes filius Johannis tenet j. quarter. feod. in eadem de Episcopo Roffensi.

425. Warinus de monte Canisii (*sic*) tenet Manerium de Suanechaumpe cum (*Baronia sua.**)

426. Michaelus de Stiforde tenet dimid. feod. de eodem Warino, & viij. (vj^am) partem de eodem.

427. Prior Roffensis tenet Manerium de Rerente (*Derente*) in puram elemosinam.

* Supplied from the Cottonian version.

428. Mabil*ia* Thorpel *tenet* j. q*u*arter. in Esse de Rog*er*o de Moumbray.

429. Will*elmus* de Stortegraue (*Scotegrave*) *tenet* q*u*art*er*. feod. in ead*em* de eadem Mabil*ia*.

430. Rad*ulphus* Bernard *tenet* in ead*em* xij. (*xij*^{am}) p*artem* feod. de ead*em*, & di*mid*. feod. in Kyngestone de R*ege*.

431. Galfr*idus* de Ros t*enet* in Lullingestone j. feod. de Baldewyno de Rip*a*riis.

432. Symo*n* de Echingeham *tenet* in ead*em* di*mid*. feod. de Ric*ardo* de Rokesle.

433. Joh*anna* Peyferere *tenet* in ead*em* di*mid*. feod. de Ham*one* de Creuequere.

434. Walram*us* de Cerythone *tenet* j. feod. de Hugone de Wyndlezore.

435. Warin*us* de Monte Canisii *tenet* Man*er*ium de Hertebergh*e* (*Herteleighe*) cum baron*ia* sua.

436. Barth*olomeus* de Wattone *tenet* j. feod. in Retleghe de Com*ite* Insule.

437. Prior Hospit*alis* de ier*usal*em' *tenet* man*er*ium de Suttone in puram elemosinam.

438. Symo*n* de Wahulle *tenet* di*mid*. feod. in Haleghele de d*omi*no Rob*er*to de S*ancto* Joh*anne*.

439. Will*elmus* de ffaukeham *tenet* j. feod. & di*mid*. in ffaukeham de Ep*iscopo* Roff*ensi*.

440. Archid*iaconus* Roff*ensis* *tenet* Langefelde in Archid*iaconatu* suo in puram elemosinam.

441. Will*elmus* de Eynesforde *tenet* man*er*ium de Eynesforde cum baron*ia* sua de Arch*iepiscopo*.

442. Th*omas* soreng' *tenet* xviij. (*xviij*^{am}) p*artem* feod. in ffreningeham de Nich*olao* Poyns.

443. Regin*aldus* de Cobham t*enet* j. q*uart*er. feod. in Orkesdene de Will*elmo* de Eynesforde.

444. Joh*annes* de S*ancto* claro *tenet* in Eynesforde j. q*uart*er. feod. de eod*em* Will*elmo*.

445. Gilb*ertus* de Kirkeby & Galfr*idus* de Percy *tenent* man*er*ium de Hortone cum baron*ia* de Ros.

446. Will*elmus* Oxe, de Hortone, *tenet* j. q*uart*er. feod. de Rad*ulpho* de Chetewode.

447. Henr' (*sic*, but read Here*des*) Walt*er*i de Ros t*enent* j. q*u*arter. feod. de Galfr*id*o de Ros.
448. Galfr*idus* de Ros t*enet* j. feod. in ffremygeham de Galfr*id*o de Percy.
449. Walram*us* de Cerytone ten*et* j. feod. in ffremygeham de Arch*iepiscop*o.
450. Will*elmus* Alex*ander* t*enet* quand*am* ser*iant*i*am* in ead*em* de Will*el*mo de Wylmyntone.

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451. Ric*ardus* Stouhland t*enet* j. feod. de Com*ite* Leycestr*ie* ap*ud* Kemesyng*e*.

Hundr*edum* de Coddesethe.

452. Symon de Monte forti ten*et* Manerium de Kemesynge.
453. Rad*ulphus* de Esse tenet di*mid*. feod. de Com*ite* Leycestr*ie*.
454. Henr*icus* de Appeldrefeld*e* in Sundreher*se* ten*et* j. feod. & di*mid*.
455. vnde Steph*anus* de Iford*e* dimid. feod.

Hundr*edum* de Blakehese.

456. Will*elmus* de Sey ten*et* Westgrenewyz cu*m* baro*n*ia sua.
457. Hugo de Plays ten*et* in Lee p*er* socios de Ric*ardo* de Monte fichet.
458. Math*eus* de Hegham ten*et* in Oxne xx. (*xx*^{am}) p*artem* feod. de Rad*ulph*o de Mu*n*deuill*e*.
459. Joh*annes* de le Mareys t*enet* di*mid*. feod. in Wolewyc' de eod*em* Rad*ulph*o.
460. Nich*olaus* de Leukenore t*enet* j. feod. in Eltham de Com*ite* Glouc*estrie*.
461. Joh*anna* de Chimenyng*e* t*enet* in ead*em* in dot*em* sua*m* di*mid*. feod. de Com*ite* Insul*e*.

Hundr*edum* de Lytlele.

462. Abbas S*ancti* August*ini* t*enet* Manerium de Plumsted*e* cu*m* baro*n*ia sua.
463. Jacobus de (*sic*) ten*et* j. feod. in eadem de eod*em* Abb*ate*.
464. Laur*encius* de S*ancto* Mich*aele* t*enet* in Wytham (*Wycham*) p*er* socios de p*redicto* Rob*erto*.

465. Nicho*la*us de Crielle & Joh*an*na vxor eius tene(n)t in Litleho p*er*tine*n*s Manerium suum Stoke Ingeberi.

466. Rob*er*tus de S*ancto* Joh*anne* ten*et* in Herde j. feod. de Archi*episcopo*.

Hundr*edum* de Bromleg*he*.

467. Ric*ardus* de la Rokele ten*et* in Begeham j. feod. de d*omi*no R*ege*.

468. Nicho*laus* Malemeyns ten*et* di*mid*. feod. de eod*em* H. unil' r' (*sic*).*

469. Henr*icus* de Apeldrefelde & Alex*ander* de Catteford*e* tene(n)t j. quarter. de Ep*iscopo* Roff*ensi* in Bromle.

470. Thom*as* de Breybroke ten*et* in eod*em* vj. (*vj*^{am}) p*artem* feod. de eod*em* Ep*iscopo*.

471. Anselm*us* de Rippele t*enet* in eadem xxiij. (*xxiij*^{am}) p*artem* feod. de balliuo de Wiltone.

472. Henr*icus* fil*ius* Rad*ulph*i de Monte fichet t*enet* in ead*em* vj. (*vj*^{am}) p*artem* feod. de eod*em*.

473. Prior de Alegate (*?Aldgate*) ten*et* t*erras* que fuit Petri fil*ii* Ogeri.

474. Steph*anus* Constantini t*enet* in ead*em* j. feod. de Warin*e* de Mo*n*te Caniso.

475. Joh*annes* le ffrankeleyn & Joh*annes* de Adesham t*enent* in ead*em* j. q*uart*er. feod. de Ep*iscopo* Roff*ensi*.

476. Ad*am* de Hesele ten*et* in ead*em* q*uan*dam se*r*iant*iam* d*e* d*omi*no Rege.

Hundr*edum* de Rokesle.

477. Will*elmus* de Say ten*et* in Codeham cu*m* baro*nia* sua.

478. Henr*icus* de Apeldrefelde t*enet* in ead*em* j. feod.

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479. Nicho*la*us Pessun t*enet* de eod*em* dimid. feod. in Kestane

480. Will*elmus* de Mares ten*et* in ead*em* j. q*uarter*. feod. d*e* Joh*anne* de Mares.

481. Joh*anna* de Arsike ten*et* iij. feod. in Wicham de Com*ite* Insule.

* Perhaps a mistake of the scribe for "unde nihil reddit."

482. Henr' (*sic*) Alayn de Codintone (*query* Here*s* Alan*i* de Godintone; see next entry but one) te*net* j. feod. in Chelesfeld*e* de Joh*anne* de Dyue.

483. Joh*annes* le fflemyng*e* te*net* in ead*em* j. feod. de Sym*one* de Chelesfeld*e*.

484. Will*elmus* Pykot ten*et* di*mid*. feod. in ead*em* de herede de Codintone (*Godintone*).

485. Will*elmus* Herlicum te*net* j. q*u*arter. feod. de S*imone* de Chelesfeld*e*.

486. Sym*on* de craye te*net* di*mid*. feod. in Craye de Com*ite* Insul*e*.

487. Regin*aldus* de la Brok*e* ten*et* di*mid*. feod. de p*re*dicto Symone.

488. Will*elmus* Creye Junior ten*et* di*mid*. feod. de eod*em* S*imone*.

489. Joh*annes* Richer (*? Rither*) ten*et* di*mid*. feod. de eodem S*imone*.

490. Joh*annes* de Rokel*e* ten*et* j. feod. in ead*em* de Ham*one* de Creuequer*e*.

491. Will*elmus* Bardulf te*net* di*mid*. feod. in fotescraye de eod*em* Hamone.

492. Id*em* Hamo ten*et* in ead*em* di*mid*. feod. de Will*elmo* de Eynesford*e*.

493. Joh*annes* de Mares ten*et* Akem*ere* de Sentling*e* p*ro* iij. feod. de d*omi*no R*ege*.

494. Will*elmus* Marmon (*?Marmion*) ten*et* in Akerm*ere* de p*re*fato Joh*anne*.

Summa Lesti de Suttone—xxxv. feod. j. quarter.

Villata de Lesnes.

Villata de Derteford*e*.

(The Manuscript ends here abruptly, and not at the bottom of a page, as though unfinished. The back of Page 23 is blank with the exception of the following description of the contents of the volume :—" Feoda Militaria Kanc.")

A MEDIÆVAL PILGRIMAGE INTO KEN' IN AID OF THE RESTORATION O LAON CATHEDRAL.

BY ROBERT C. JENKINS, M.A.,

HON. CANON OF CANTERBURY AND RECTOR OF LYMINGE.

THE miraculous tale which I am about to bring before y has, strangely enough, dropped out of the histories of Ke and escaped the eyes of its legendary chroniclers, while has been picked up by their brethren on the other side the Channel, and inserted in their voluminous narrativ Helinandus, a monk of Beauvais, who flourished in the ea part of the thirteenth century, is the primitive authority this matter, and he has not deemed the history unworthy a conspicuous place in his chronicle, which extends over periods and all places; while the still more volumino Vincent of Beauvais has transferred to his 'Speculum Hi toriale' the series of wonders which his predecessor h related, with that delightful credulity which makes the ea monastic legends so refreshing, in this age of universal sce ticism. Vincent of Beauvais might, perhaps, be called t great encyclopædist of his age. His researches travell over all time and all space. His 'Speculum Historial which gives the history of the universe, was supplement by his 'Speculum Naturale,' his 'Speculum Doctrinale,' a his 'Speculum Morale,' filling four enormous volumes double columns, a triumph of early printing, taking a co spicuous place among the "*incunabula*" of the fifteen century, and forming the largest of the productions of t presses of Mentz, Nuremberg, and Strasburg. Vincentius w by no means a critic, but was content with being a faithf transcriber of all that he had seen and read. He begins h

history by expressing the desire to give to the general reader the results of his immense labours; and from the evident fear of the history of the creation itself perishing and the Bible becoming a lost (as it was then in great measure a sealed) book, begins from the very beginning of time, and gives special importance and prominence to the miraculous and the monastic features of his narrative. The work of Helinandus supplies a copious stream of this kind of legendary history, and is as the Jumna to the Ganges in our author's history. The two chroniclers of the world meet in Vincentius's pages, and one can hardly determine which is the parent channel.

The story in which we are specially interested occurs in the year 1114-1115, and the events related belong accordingly to the incumbency of Archbishop Ralph, or Radulphus de Turbine, though the writer, by a not unnatural error, speaks of Archbishop William as then filling the see, anticipating thus by a few years the accession of William Corboil. But inasmuch as somewhat more than a century had passed between the events which Helinandus records and the period in which he recorded them, an error of this kind was of a very venial kind. With these preliminary remarks, we approach the history itself.

Many of us may have seen—many more may have heard or read of—the almost unique Cathedral of Laon, with its five spires, all different but all beautiful; yet very few may be aware that our Kentish forefathers contributed not a little to the earlier portions of this magnificent pile. But so it was. Like many other ecclesiastical buildings which preceded the twelfth century, it had suffered from the ravages of fire so as to need what in modern language is called "restoration," and to be altogether unfit for that gentler process of renewal which is termed "conservative restoration." The condition of the church and diocese of Laon was at that moment most pitiable. Waldricus, Bishop of Laon, had been murdered by the citizens, and Hugo, Dean of Orleans, succeeded him. But his episcopate lasted only seven months, when the election of Bishop Bartholomew gave a new life to the church, and inspired the despairing

canons with a resolution to become church-restorers on grand scale. They had no wealthy population and no su cient endowments to turn to in this great emergency. Th were no diocesan boards or building associations to g munificent grants, as in our more business-like and utilitari age. But they had what was infinitely more precious, a proved also to be infinitely more profitable—a collection wonder-working relics capable of healing every imaginal and perhaps imaginary disease; and to what good accou they turned this most improving property is shewn by He nandus' narrative.

They began by appointing a commission consisting seven canons and seven burghers—a sacred number, a doubtless having a mystical significance. These were charg with the anxious custody of the relics, which now, for t first time since their journey to Laon from the Holy La were to be exposed to perils by land and sea, making first tour of the provinces, and then passing over into Engla Of these spurious wares the most precious was the B of the Virgin Mary, in which (for it was probably m like a chest than a bier) were stowed the sponge, the napl (possibly a duplicate of the famous Veronica handkerchi and other relics of the Crucifixion, together with some p cious hair of the Blessed Virgin herself, which were enclo in what our author terms a "*phylactery*"—a word not to read here in the Jewish sense, but rather in the sense o box or reliquary, in which the treasures were preserv The reliquary is described as having upon it this inscr tion:—

> "Spongia, crux Domini, cum syndore cum faciali,
> Me sacrat atque tui, genetrix et virgo, capilli."

In their progress to the sea-coast at Wissant, they visi Vermandois and Artois, where fresh proofs of the vitality the sacred bier were exhibited. At Arras, however, wh they arrived on a Friday, a singular incident happened wh seems to throw some doubt on the authenticity of the re An old man at Arras, a workman (or carpenter) who twelve years had been totally blind, heard that the "*fe trum*," whatever that may mean, "of the Virgin M

of Laon" had been brought into the town, and asked with suspicious anxiety respecting the shape and nature of the article. When they describe it to him, immediately from the depth of his soul he drew profound sighs, and, weeping copiously, spake thus:—"This secret repository *(secretum)* I put together with my own hands in my early youth at the commandment of Helinandus, Bishop of Laon, in which the same Bishop deposited some most precious relics. Among these was the head of St. Waleric, the Abbot, and the head of St. Montanus, the monk and recluse, who foretold the birth of St. Remigius, and received his sight by the application of the milk of his mother, Cilime, according to his own prediction. O! (he exclaimed) that thou couldst give me the mercy granted to St. Montanus, most tender-hearted Mother of Pity, and restore me my sight, that I might behold thy *feretrum*, which I manufactured with my own hands!" Thus saying and weeping, he begged that his eyes might be bathed with the washings of the holy relics, and then drank of the water, and all night remained in prayer before the *feretrum*. In the morning he received his sight. Now this is a very damaging story, however we read it, almost as disheartening to the pilgrims as the discovery by some modern *connoisseur* that his mediæval furniture had been manufactured in Wardour Street. For besides the fatal revelation in regard to the *feretrum* itself, it gives an entirely new catalogue of the original relics, and there is no mention of the far more precious articles with which (as we have seen) the "*phylacterum*" was labelled. But what do all these temptations to scepticism signify, so long as the miracles go on notwithstanding? These, true or false, were the sole monastic criterion of the authenticity of relics, and here they were most conspicuously seen. However, the inadvertent exclamation of the blind artificer rendered it very important that the *feretrum* (lest, like a local prophet, it should lose honour in its own country) should make a visit to more distant parts, and thus the opportuneness of the voyage to England became apparent on more grounds than one.

On the Feast of St. Mark the travellers, with their pre-

cious freight, arrived at Wissant, and embarked on th anxious voyage. When they came to the middle of t Channel, they spied out some pirates approaching their vess the master of the ship therefore entreated the Priest Bo to take in his hands the relics of the Blessed Virg and interdict the pirates from doing them any inju Accordingly, taking the "phylactery," with the hair of S Mary, with fear and devotion, he ascended the poop of t vessel, he adjured them vigorously in the name of Chri and His Mother to come no farther, and no sooner h he made the sign of the Cross on the "phylactery" again the enemies, than, quicker than thought, a violent contra wind sprang up, which forced back their ship, and bro the mast. In a short time the ship with the *feretrum* ca safely and joyfully to land.

It appears that Dover was the first scene on which t *feretrum* appeared in England. From that port the p grimage was carried on to Canterbury, which, as it h no precious shrine of its own in that early day, and cou offer no rivalry to the Canons of Laon, was likely become a mine of wealth to the enterprising exhibito Archbishop Ralph (not William, as our informant ter him) gave a most honourable reception to the pilgrims. F he had himself been for some time a guest of the Bishop Laon, in order to see and hear (St. ?) Anselm. And the he had taught the sons of Randolph, the Chancellor of t King of England. Presently a very wealthy lady experienc the efficacy of the *feretrum*, and the usual prescription of t Priest Boso having been carried out—viz., a full confessio of sin and a drink of the washings of the relics, she receiv instant relief. Of course her gifts and offerings of devotio are munificent and costly.

But we are told that the blessings of the *feretrum* we limited to the inhabitants of the diocese, during the visit t Canterbury. Probably the Archbishop suggested this litt restriction, from the fear that all London might flock int Canterbury if the blessing was made too general. Fro Canterbury the procession advances to Winchester, th passing through the principal part of Kent, and a fre

crop of miracles springs up. The subjects are the King's baker (who, strangely enough, was blind) and a rich man named Walter. This latter, notwithstanding the magnificence of his offerings, was denounced by the bystanders as having by no means given in proportion to his immense wealth. Whereupon he replied that he could not give more at present, until he had returned all the money he had obtained by usury, and made the public crier summon all whom he had thus victimised to receive back their money. After various other healings, the *feretrum* is carried on to Christ Church, in Hampshire, where there happened to be a great concourse of merchants. But the dean of the church, with his twelve canons, refused it a place in their church, which was itself in process of building, for they naturally dreaded a diversion of the gifts of the rich merchants into this foreign channel. And though a heavy storm had come on, the inhospitable dean scarcely allowed them to shelter their treasure beneath the roof of the church, at a low altar in a remote corner of the building. But when he saw the merchants come in to offer their gifts to the *feretrum* (for they had heard of the miracles at Winchester), he ordered it to be turned out of the church. The poor pilgrims, in the midst of a pelting rain, could find no shelter and no resting-place, for every lodging was occupied. Hereupon a good matron, pitying them, persuaded her husband to let them occupy an empty house which he was building, and had already let for two marks to the merchants for a night or two, and thus, as our author phrases it, to "accommodate the Queen of Heaven, who had been turned out of the church." To this he assents, and the good matron devotes herself assiduously to her new guests and their wonder-working treasures, which she adorns with curtains. One of the merchants, who has three bells in his stock-in-trade, hangs them up and rings them, so as to bring all his brethren to the new tabernacle, where he ascends a kind of pulpit, and tells them of the outrage of the dean, charging them to desert the church, and resort (as we might say) to the chapel. And they not only agree to this, but resolve to levy a fine upon all who venture to church. Of course the

feretrum was equal to the occasion, and vindicated itself by a number of its accustomed miracles.

But presently a much more terrible incident occurs. A dragon, belching out flames, comes up from the sea and flies about the town, setting fire to houses and churches in the most indiscriminate manner. What were the wretched inhabitants to do? The *feretrum* had just started on a new journey, so they sent horsemen after it in all speed, who entreated the strangers from Laon to return and save their burning town. They return accordingly, and behold the church of the poor dean literally reduced to nothing, only the site remaining. The unhappy man, gathering together all his vestments and other belongings, puts them into a ship in the hope of their escaping the monster. In vain! The dragon, our author observes, as if it had come for this object alone, flies on to the ship, and puts an end to both the cargo and the ship itself. Meantime the house which had sheltered the *feretrum* remained uninjured, with all that were in it; and the merchants, for their loyalty to the Laon deputation, suffer no loss even in their goods. While the dean, moved by a late repentance, follows the *feretrum* barefooted, and prostrating himself before it, confesses the judgment of God, and implores his pardon.

The next halting-place was Exeter, where Robert the Archdeacon, who also had been a pupil of Anselm at Laon, receives the *feretrum* and its bearers with all honour. Similar miracles are exhibited on sixteen infirm persons of the diocese. But the relic was so careful to preserve episcopal authority and to observe religiously the diocesan system, that a poor cripple from Salisbury could derive no benefit from his journey to Exeter, but had to wait until the exhibition (if we may so term it) arrived at Salisbury. At Wilton the strangers were shewn the tomb of Bede, where healing miracles were alleged to take place. But what was the tomb of the old presbyter to the bier of the Virgin? Such, in effect, was the question which a famous versifier of the day, a lady-poet, put to a poor invalid in a dream, after she had spent a long time in attempting to heal a fever at the tomb

of the great historian—a scene (one would think) rather likely to produce one. "You can't be healed in this way by Bede (were her words), for the Blessed Virgin hath herself come down to us." The Laon deputies hear of the vision, prescribe the usual remedies, and the healing is of course accomplished. Then they pass on into Cornwall, where the inhabitants shew them the chair and the oven of that famous King, the subject of the fables of the Britons—Arthur. There they recognise Algaricus, who was afterwards Bishop of Coutances, and had formerly been a hearer of Anselm at Laon. One of the candidates for healing, who had a withered hand, began to dispute with one of the brethren from Laon in behalf of King Arthur, and therefore he was unable to be healed.

At Totnes a man lame from his nativity experiences the healing influence of the *feretrum*, upon which his brother, who is the proprietor (or provost) of the Castle there, offers to the relic the sum of forty pounds sterling, to which the people of the place made "infinite" additions. This signal success, however, provoked a violent gainsaying among the more sceptical. Three young men, nearly related to one another, when they saw these vast sums carried to the *feretrum*, began to slander the deputies of Laon, charging them with the most sordid motives, and even accusing them of using magical arts—a terrible accusation in that day. One of them, moreover, endeavoured to persuade the others, on pretence of kissing the sacred relic, to lick up with their tongues some of the money that had been laid upon it, so as each of them to carry away a good mouthful of the coveted spoil. The two who were appealed to were, however, not equal to so bold a venture, so that the tempter had the field to himself. He was as good as his word, and sucked up a goodly portion of the heap of gold on the bier. Then, having in vain persuaded his kinsmen to accompany him to a neighbouring tavern to feast on the booty, he has the feast as well as the fray to himself, his friends going their own way, while he mounts his horse and rides into a wood, and goaded perhaps by the pangs of conscience, puts a wooden halter over his neck and hangs himself to a tree, while his

horse starts off and leaves him hanging. The horse returns without its rider to an assembly of people to which the two more prudent youths had betaken themselves. They trace back its steps into the wood, and are relieved of their suspense by finding their kinsman in a state of suspension, and quite dead. Taking his leather bag from his girdle, they find the money he had stolen just as it had come out of his mouth. Hurrying away in all speed and with loud lamentations to the *feretrum*, they place the money upon the altar. "Falling on the ground, they implore the mercy of the Mother of God for the soul of their relative, and declare aloud before all present the guilt that the deceased had perpetrated. Every one wondered at the swiftness of the Divine vengeance, and, beating their breasts, poured forth floods of tears." "Thus far,"—so our author concludes his story—"the miracles of the Bier of Laon, which were performed in the years of our Lord 1114 and 1115."

The first question which must present itself to our minds on reading this series of wonders is, What would have been the English version of them? One notable point is that the farther the valuable "properties" of the Church of Laon travel from their proper home the more wonderful the narrative becomes, and that the less important or populous the scene of their operations, the more venturesome are the feats of the performance. "What they say in Spain," as Melchior Canus observes, "would appear to be true in this case—From long journeys come long lies" ("*De luengas vias, luengas mentiras.*") And Tacitus gives the good reason, "*Major è longinquo reverentia*"—You must not come too near a thing to have a value for it. A miracle, like a rumour, grows as it advances—"*Vires acquirit eundo.*" And hence the astonishing growth of the miracles of these good Canons, as they passed into that then *terra incognita*, the west of England. At Canterbury or Winchester the wonders are very ordinary to what they are at Christ Church or at Totnes. The people at Laon were too near to the birthplace of the sacred relic to be as deeply impressed with the sense of its surpassing worth as those on this side the Channel. Possibly the good Canons may have

been indebted to the Arthurian legend itself for what we might call the Pen-dragon incident, for the imagination of the faithful might easily have seen the five-headed monster in a general conflagration such as often broke out in the wood-built towns of our forefathers. Yet whatever incredulity we may indulge in regarding the miracles of the Bier of Laon, we can have none whatever in respect to its result. It was undoubtedly "a great success"—a real "benefit"—a plan of church building and restoration for which we can find no parallel in this matter-of-fact and unromantic age. One moral it has for all of us, which is, never to despair of small means and small beginnings. The Canons of Laon began with nothing whatever. Their stock-in-trade was a few old relics of very doubtful authenticity. And yet, having a most unquestionable and unquestioning faith, they made a great success. For (as one of the most illustrious of the sainted church-builders of antiquity affirms of such a work) "*Sumptus noster firma fides est.*"

RECULVER CHURCH.

BY GEORGE DOWKER, ESQ., F.G.S.

If in our examination of the Castrum at Reculver w derive little assistance from historical data preserve to us, such is not the case with the Church; in it immediate connection with the Roman period, how ever, little guide is vouchsafed us. When the Ro mans finally left Britain, it is probable that the in habitants had so learned their customs, and adopte their manners, that but little difference might be pe ceived in their buildings, etc. They were serfs, le without their lords and masters, but these were soo forthcoming in the warriors they invited over to pro tect them from their numerous enemies. The Saxon who thus came as their protectors were soon thei masters. The Britons had thus but changed one se of masters for another. Religious belief, their cus toms and manners, appear to have been soon altered. I appears but a fair inference, that they still clung t their former strongholds, and the Castra which ha been built to repel invasion were still used for a lik purpose. Through this succession of dark and trouble some times we have few facts to guide us; but at a later period the introduction of Christianity, and th spread of knowledge and civilization, leave us in pos session of historical data of the greatest possibl interest. Around this spot are grouped, either b tradition or document, a host of witnesses, bringin

RECULVER CHURCH, VIEWED FROM THE NORTH EAST IN 1781.

RUINS OF RECULVER CHURCH, VIEWED FROM THE NORTH WEST, A.D. 1877.

WEST DOORWAY OF RECULVER CHURCH, A.D. 1860.

Thos. Kell, Lithographer.
40, King St. Covent Garden.

us back in its history to the remotest period. It is not my purpose in this paper to trace it out in all its minuteness; this task has been most ably accomplished by others, and I would refer my readers more especially to the Rev. John Duncombe's history, published in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica.** In order, however, to render my account a connected history, and the better to draw your attention to those points still obscure, or on which some light may even now be shed, through careful research and examination, I furnish the following summary of events connected with it.

According to tradition, Ethelbert first Christian King of Kent was buried here. Mr. Green, incumbent of this parish in 1695, mentions that an inscription in old English records this event.†

Weever says,

"At the upper end of the south isle in this church I saw a monument of antique forme mounted with two spires, wherein (as the inhabitants have it by tradition) the body of one Ethelbert, a Saxon King who hath his pallace royal here in Reculver, lieth entombed. But whether he be this Ethelbert the 2nd, or Ethelbert surnamed Prên, that lieth here interred, it is not much material, for they bothe dyed without any memorable act."—*Funeral Monuments*, p. 260.

Whatever value we may attach to this statement, it is pretty certain that Ethelbert after resigning his Palace at Canterbury to St. Augustine retired here. According to the *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, King Ethelbert was buried in the Monastery of St. Augustine, in the *porticus* of St. Martin.

Kilburne states,‡ "Ethelbert the first Christian

* *Bib. Top. Brit.*, No. xviii., 1784, p. 62. † *Ibid.*, p. 125.
‡ Kilburne, *Survey of Kent*, p. 222.

King of Kent, about 1060 years since, built a pala
here for himself and successors." I can find no co
firmation of this statement. It is not improbabl
however, that it may have some basis. Ford Hou
was the most ancient seat belonging to the see
Canterbury, being given to it by Ethelbert King
Kent, who resided the latter part of his reign i
Reculver. This palace is about four miles distan
and in Ethelbert's time might be considered a pa
of Reculver. It is probable that he retired here.*

Next we find:—

"According to the Saxon Chronicle 669 (*circa*) King Ecbyr
gave Raculf to Bassa, a mass priest, to build a minster upon. A.
679, Hlothari, King of Kent, granted land in Westney, in the I
of Thanet, and twelve houses at Sturry, to Abbot Bercuald and
monastery. A.D. 747, a charter of Eadberht, King of Ke
granting to the church at Raculfe, and to Deneheah and his mon
the toll and custom of one vessel at the port and town of Fordwi
A.D. 747 (*circa*) a grant by Eardwulf, King of Kent, of land in B
hamstede to the Abbot Eadberht and his monks, living in loco
dicitur Raculf.† A.D. 784, a grant by Ealhmund, King of Kent, o
piece of land called Scildwic to Abbot Westrede and his monks
Raculfcestre. A.D. 811, a charter of Archbishop Wulfred, givi
lands in Eosterege to Reacolvensæ ecclesiæ. A.D. 825, a charter
Archbishop Wulfred restoring to the monasteries the possessions
which they had been deprived during the violence of the times. T
charter was made at the Synod of Cloveshou. A.D. 949, grant
King Eadred of Monasterium Raculfense cum tota villa to t
church of Canterbury." . . . ‡

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* I have examined Ford, and find early foundations of compa
masonry in which *Roman* tiles are introduced, though most of t
present walls appear to have been rebuilt to the foundations
give this merely as a conjecture), but the masonry in the found
tions of these walls is wonderfully like that in the earliest part
Reculver church.

† Quoted by C. R. Smith, p. 221.

‡ Given *in extenso* in Roach Smith's *Reculver*, with translatio
by W. Sandys.—*Reculver*, p. 222.

We have thus during the Saxon period many notices of the Church and Monastery, and it remains for us to discover if any portions of the fabric of that date are remaining. It is probable that during the ravages of the Danes, Reculver suffered, with the other monasteries in Kent; but, though the monastic buildings may have been destroyed, a church of more than ordinary note appears in the Norman period to have existed here.

In the book of taxations of ecclesiastical livings made in 1281, it is mentioned that the Church of Reculver had these chapels annexed, viz.: Hoathe, St. Nicholas, All Saints, and Herne, and it is probable that they had been so annexed many years previously. In 1296 occurs a decree of Archbishop Winchelsea, dated Reculver, concerning the oblations and alms in a certain chest, near the *great stone cross* between the church and chancel at Reculver.* It would thus seem that the cross mentioned by Leland was at this date in the Church.

From the Norman period we have notices of the Church bringing us to the Early English period, to which I would now briefly direct attention.

In 1351 a Thomas Nyewe de Wotton,† rector of Aldington, being vicar of Reculver, for the perpetual discharge of himself and successors from officiating in the cure of Hoath, and for furnishing the burghers with a constant and resident priest, founded in Hoath chapel a perpetual chantry, to be served by a resident priest; he likewise founded one at Reculver in honour of the Holy Trinity. Another chantry was founded

* Letters from Mr. Green, by Ducarel, from manuscript in Lambeth Library.

† Ducarel, *Itinerary*, p. 118; *Topographica Britannica*, p. 119.

in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, for a chaplain to pray for the soul of Alicia de Brooke, and the souls of all faithful people deceased for ever.* Both these chantries were suppressed in the second year of King Edward the VI's reign.

With the data furnished above we have to add the description given of the Church itself and its various monuments at different times. First of these I would place that given us in the Itinerary of Leland, for many reasons the most important, and as I would direct special attention to this, I will quote it at length. Speaking of the Church he says:—

"At the entrance to the choir, was one of the fairest and most stately crosses that ever I saw, a ix footes as I ges yn hight. It standeth lyke a fayr columne. The base greate stone ys not wrought. The second stone, being round, hath curiously wrought and paynted the images of Christ, Peter, Paule, John, and James as I remember. Christ sayeth, ego sum Alpha & Ω. Peter sayith, Tu es Christus filius dei vivi. The saying of the other iii wher painted majusculis literis Ro., but now obliterated. The second stone is of the Passion. The iii conteineth the xii Apostles. The iiii hath the image of Christ hanging, and fastened with iiii nayles, and subredibus sustentaculum. The hiest part of the pyller hath the figure of a crosse. In the chirch is a very auncient Boke of the Evangelyes, in majusculis literis Ro., and yn the bordes therof ys a christal stone thus inscribed: Clavdia . Atepiccvs. Yn the north side of the chirch is the figure of a bishop paynted under an arch."†

In Philipot's time the Church was full of solitude and languishing into decay.

Weever,‡ besides mention of the monument supposed to be that of King Ethelbert before mentioned relates that within the communion rails in the Chancel is a handsome monument representing "Sir Cavalheur

* *Ibid.*, 157. † *Itinerary*, vol. vii., p. 186.
‡ Weever, *Funeral Monuments.*

Maycote and Lady Maycote with their eight children A.D. 1586." Sir Cavalier Maycote lived at Brook in this parish, where is a curious red brick gateway which I suppose to be of this date. Brook belongs now to Mr. J. Collard, to whom I am indebted for the loan of the curious old map before referred to.

On a flat stone in the chancel were two brass figures (engraved in the *Bibliotheca Topographica*), with this inscription :—

" Hic jacet Johannes Sandewey armiger et Johanna uxor ejus ; quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen."

On a brass plate against the south wall with a herald's coat (see engraving in *Bibliotheca**), the following, viz. :—

" Here under quit from wordly miseries
Ralphe Brooke esquire, late York Herald, lyes.
Fifteenth of October he was last alive,
One thousand Six hundred twenty and five.
Seventy three years bore he fortune's harmes,
And forty-five an officer of Armes.
He married Thomasin, daughter of Michael Cobb, of Kent,
Serjeant at armes, by whom two daughters God him lent.
Surviving Mary, William Dickin's wife,
Thomason John Exton's. Happy be their life."

The above stone with inscription still legible I found in Hilborough Church.

In the chancel was a large flat stone with the following inscription :—

" Hic jacet dominus Thomas . . . . qui . ob . . . .
Vos qui transitis Thomam deflere vetitis
Per me nunc scitis quid prodest et gloria ditis."

This stone I have likewise found in Hilborough churchyard.

Hasted gives descriptions of several other monu-

* *Bib. Top. Brit.*, p. 85, fig. 6.

ments and a drawing of the Church.* Another drawing of the Church is found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1809 (by J. Pridden, taken April, 1781). Two views are given in Mr. Freeman's little book on *Regulbium* published in 1810. Two views are found in Deeble's *History of Thanet*, published in 1817, one of these shewing the pillars at the entrance to the chancel standing.

A notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1809, furnishes the following particulars relating to the Church:—

"At the ends eastward of the north and south aisles, are two portions, 14 feet 2 by 9 feet 2, which are partitioned off, and have been shut up many years, which evidently were oratories or Chantries; as in the northern, is remaining a handsome *piscina* and a cupboard for the pix: In the other a piscina only. There were doors of access to each of these from the chancel, but they have been so long closed up, that there was no remembrance of the chantries by the oldest inhabitants."

There are but few notices of the Monastery buildings. Leland relates, "The whole precincts of the Monastery appeareth by the old walle; and the vicarage was made of the ruines of the Monastery: There is a neglected chapel out of the church yard wher sum say was a parish church, or the abbay was suppressed and given to the bishop of Canterbury." Mr. Boys's plan shews three of these.†

In 1850 Mr. Roach Smith published a work on the *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, in which he gave an exhaustive account of all that related to the Roman portions of Reculver, and first drew attention to the peculiar construction of the chancel pillars and arches, which he described as of

* Hasted's *Kent*, folio, vol. iii., p. 636.

† *Bib. Top. Brit.*, plate iv., p. 84.

Roman work. He was not, however, aware of the circular apse at the east end. Subsequently these columns were discovered by Mr. Sheppard, and are now in the Canterbury Cathedral precincts.*

The wanton destruction of the Church by the vicar and parishioners has been commented on by various contributors to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but the following description in the writing of the parish clerk, and found among the parish papers, and for which I am indebted to the vicar of Hoathe, is unsurpassed; I give it in its own language and spelling. It begins with some notes taken in 1805 and following years.

"1805 Reculver Church and Village stood in saftey; 1806 the sea begun to make a little incroach on the willage; 1807 the farmers begun take up the seaside stone work and sold it to the Margate Pier Compney for a foundation for the new peir, and the timber by action, as it was good oak fit for their hoame use, and than the willage became a total rack to the mercy of the sea."

Oct. 13th, 1802. "The Chapel house fell down." (*Here some connecting remarks are wanting*). "This been all dun and spread abroad, the people come from all parts to see the ruines of village and the church. Mr C. C. nailor been Vicar of the parish, his mother fancied that the church was keep for a poppet show, and she persuaded har son to take it down, so he took it in consideration and named it to the farmers in the parish about taking it down; sum was for it and sum against it, than Mr nailor wrote to the Bishop to know if he might have the church took down, and in answer was it must be dun by a majority of the people in the parish, so hafter a long time he got the majority of one, so down come the Church.

"for it, Mr Nailor, vicker, Mr Tom denne, Reculver, Mr W. Staines, Brooke, Mr Tom Fix, hilbrow.—Against it, Mr Wm Brown, Reculver, Mr Step. Sayer, Bishopstone, Mr Brett Clark to the old church 40 years.

* See communication to Society of Antiquaries, read April 11, 1861.

"The last tax that Mr nailor took was these words, Let y ways be the ways of rightness, and your path the peace, and do come the church, and whot wos is thoats about is flock that day one knows."

In 1809 the Trinity Board purchased the Chur to preserve as a sea-mark. The materials were so to different persons, but a considerable portion w used in building a church at Hilborough near he and that church being now in progress of rebuildin I have been enabled to identify many portions whi had been removed from Reculver, and thus can gi a more perfect description of the original Church.

The above sketch of the various historical da which I have laid before you, will prepare you f much interest in the examination of the ruins of tl Church.

I will now proceed to describe its present sta and hope to shew you from a careful examination the walls, aided by the excavations into the found tions, that sufficient materials remain to enable us part reconstruct this most ancient Church, and trace its various periods of restoration.

I should not omit to mention that there is legend which ascribes the building of the two towe of the Church to the Abbess of the poor nuns Davington, who, as she with her sister was proceedi in fulfilment of a vow from Faversham to the chap of the Virgin at Broadstairs, was wrecked at Reculve where her sister died. The church towers are said have been built in memory of the event, and as a war ing and guide to mariners. The Priory of Davingto was founded in about 1156. It is probable that the is some basis for this statement, as the architectur features of the towers would agree well with th

date. It is stated with regard to the chapel of the Virgin at Broadstairs, that it was held in such veneration by the sailors that they dipped their sails when passing it.* A beacon existed in the field to the westward of the Church at Reculver, and its importance as a sea-mark is recognized by the care taken of it by the Trinity Board. Since 1810 they have erected groins and faced the cliff next the Church with stone; they have likewise enclosed the Church with a fence, and thus prevented further desecration. That the means they have adopted have been most effectual is witnessed by the stationary state of the sea cliff since that date. The two towers which are used as sea-marks have claimed their chief attention, the buttresses have been repaired with brick and the western door blocked with the same.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE CHURCH.

The north wall of the aisle is standing from five to seven feet in height. Some compact masonry at right angles to the wall marks the entrance at the north porch, probably of Norman date.† In this wall are several insertions, probably at the Early English restoration, and most of the buttresses are of this date. One in the centre both of the north and south aisles blocks an opening in the original wall which must have been doorways (D).

I have classed these outer walls as Norman; the foundations of them may have belonged to an earlier church. Roman tiles have been built in indiscriminately, as if removed from some earlier Roman buildings; but these tiles are likewise built into the Early

* Hasted's *Kent*, vol. iv., p. 363.

† I have called them Norman, probably part of them is of Saxon build.

English walls and the windows turned and faced wi the like tiles. Probably some of these were of Rom date. The remains of the earlier buttresses are see and were not so deep as the later ones, and appear have had rounded faces. Mr. Boys gave a drawi of the arch and lintel of a Norman door, part of whi I found at Hilborough. (See fig. 4 in *Topographi Britannica*, p. 85.)

The north and south walls of the aisles did n originally reach to the extent of the present on the last five feet on either side being a later additio probably belonging to the two chantries before me tioned of Thos. Nyewe de Wotton, A. D. 1351 (x x).

The chancel was separated from the nave by tv pillars (A A), described by Mr. Roach Smith and M Sheppard,* the foundations of these pillars I trace On either side of these, the walls are of very compa masonry, and have bonding tiles of Roman brick (fi 1, B B in plan), 2 feet 6 inches thick. The walls the chancel were pierced on either side for doorway and the chancel terminated by a semicircular aps down the foundations of which I dug and exhibite its Roman work. (See fig. 2.) It was three feet i depth, the lower portions consisting of squared ston and flint 2 feet 8 inches wide, on this three layers o Roman tiles, the whole being imbedded in very com pact mortar or concrete; the portion composed o these tiles was six inches narrower than the lowe portion. This semicircular apse merges into the sid walls of the chancel, and in the latter at the corners where pierced for doorways, the same Roman tiles ar used alternately with flint stone, forming bondin courses. The doorways were 3 feet 2 inches in width

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. III, p. 156.

Reculver Church.

SHEWING THE ROMAN, NORMAN, AND EARLY ENGLISH RESTORATIONS.

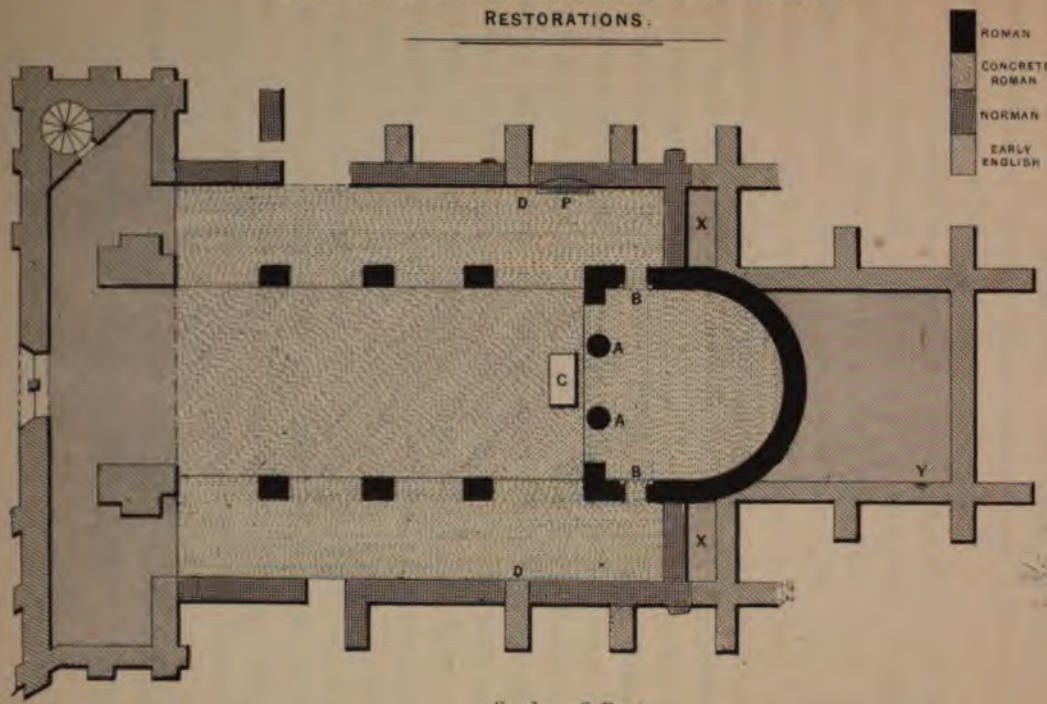


Fig. 2.

SECTION WALL OF APSE.

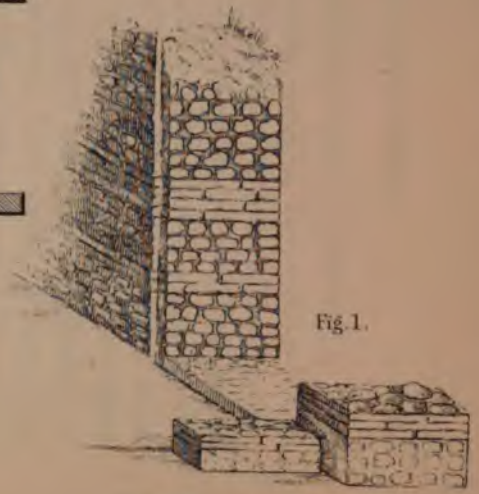


Fig. 1.

S. E. WALL OF CHANCEL.

Scale of Feet.

0 10 20 40 60 80 Feet

The concrete floor does not look as if it had been c to receive the foundations, but laid round them (c).

Parts of the original walls of the chancel are se standing about 6 feet in height, and 2 feet 6 inches width, built with very compact masonry, with regul layers of Roman tiles; these older walls extend to tl commencement of the circular apse (about 10 fee westward. Both north and south walls are marked l additions of later date, perhaps Early English. I the north wall a portion has been cut away to recei a monument (see plan P), a portion of the canopy which I found with red paint on it, and I have litt doubt but that it is that referred to by Leland, whe he writes "yn the north side of the chirch is tl figure of a Bishop paynted under an arch." I ma add that I saw portions of a monumental effigy i Hilborough churchyard with similar paint, probabl removed from this spot when the church was di mantled. I can find no other mention of this mon ment, which was probably concealed beneath hig pews. In this wall are the remains of several window one which I measured I found to be deeply splaye at an angle of 10° at the sides, and 30° at the botton the sides being formed of Roman tiles. The south wal had similar windows; a portion of this wall extend partly beneath the western towers, and is terminate with regular bondings of Roman tile. The interior the early church must have been at least 62 feet fro east to west; the width of the nave 24 feet, th length of the aisles 56 feet with a width of 11 fee At the eastern end, the Church has been added to b continuing the side walls of the chancel beyond th circular apse 17 feet. This was probably done at th Early English restoration. These walls are not s

well built as those of the remaining parts of the chancel; and though they contain Roman tiles, these are not built in in any regular manner. The chancel thus enlarged was 46 feet by 23 feet, and the floor appears to have been raised so as to cover the Roman floor and the circular apse walls, and to have been paved with encaustic tiles, some having fleur-de-lis patterns. The east end of the chancel wall is now standing, portions being (I should estimate) at least 20 feet in height, and there remains the east window, which appears to have been encircled with a canopy embracing the whole, and it was ornamented with Purbeck shaftings standing free from the window. Portions of these shaftings are in Hilborough churchyard. In this wall are stones from some earlier building, and a remaining portion of a piscina or stoup I observed in the wall under the east window. In the south wall of the chancel, near the east end and at a level with the ground, a curiously cut step-like stone is inserted, perhaps a drain for a piscina (see Y on plan). A large vault exists at the east end of the chancel. I am informed by Mr. Holmans that this vault is circular, and has coffins disposed round it in a circular manner.

The remaining portions of the Church which have escaped destruction consist of the unique western towers. They were added, I believe, at the period of the Early English restoration, perhaps about the twelfth century. These towers close the north and south aisles, and project beyond them, and are joined by a western front having a total width of 64 feet. In the centre of this front is a fine doorway (shewn in our first plate) divided into two by a central shafting. These towers are 63 feet in height, and are surmounted with wood-

work, now used to support large vanes, and employ by the Trinity Board as sea-marks. The towers are n placed quite centrally with the chancel, the north w: of which cuts a line south of the north-west buttr of the tower, the southern wall cutting near the ce tre of the south-east buttress. The towers have thr mouldings set off, and in each are eight windows wi trefoil heads. In the belfry story are four openin of rather peculiar construction. The west front pierced with two large similar openings, between a: over which is a circular opening. The wall of tl west front is pierced from tower to tower, so as connect them by a narrow gallery; under this tl remains of two circular windows are to be seen.

In excavating near the south-eastern corner the churchyard, we discovered the foundations of building about twenty feet square, one wall of whi constitutes the outer wall of the churchyard, a: though Roman tiles are used in it, I imagine it be of mediæval date; these walls rest upon found tions of earlier walls crossing them diagonall these may have been remains of the old Monaster but we did not trace them further than the rectangul building before mentioned. Mr. Boys, in his descri tion of the Church published in 1783 in *Bibliothe Topographica Britannica*, gives drawings of thr double windows which were in the south wall of tl chancel of rather peculiar construction. The san plate gives the arch of the north door (portions which I have found in Hilborough church), also tl large westernmost pillars of the nave, which we 8 feet by 15 inches.

* *Topographica Britannica*, Reculver, p. 83.

From figures and descriptions we gather that this was an imposing church, having a simple grandeur and peculiar construction. There are points about it which appear to me of the deepest interest. Who were the original builders? Mr. Roach Smith came to the conclusion some years ago, from inspecting the plans and drawings of the chancel pillars, and inspection of masonry, that they were of Roman workmanship.* The discovery of the pillars by Mr. Sheppard has enabled us to examine them. At a late meeting of the Archæological Institute at Canterbury I asked Mr. Parker if he had any doubt of their Roman workmanship, and he replied that he had not. In Sir Gilbert Scott's history of the Church within the Castle at Dover (supposed to be of very early date), he states: "Other portions of the stone are of a very peculiar kind of coarse oolite, and it is a curious fact that the same stone has been found at St. Mildred's Church at Canterbury, which has been supposed by Mr. Hussey to contain old Roman materials, and that the curious pillars from Reculver are of the same stone."† I have found the same sort of oolite at Richborough; and lately I have inspected with Canon Jenkins portions of similar stone that formed part of the Basilica at Lyminge: indeed, the stone found there is very like a portion of a similar pillar from Reculver. I do not know how far we can attach importance to the peculiar oolite as indicative of Roman origin; but the occurrence of this material in buildings presumed to be of Roman work is very significant. Then, again, the peculiar concrete floor is pronounced by Mr. Roach Smith, from a recent ex-

* *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, by C. R. Smith, p. 197. † *Archæologica Cantiana*, Vol. V, p. 9.

amination, as decidedly Roman. This circumstan is of great importance. The pillars might have be removed from some pre-existing building, not so t concrete floor; moreover, the latter is bounded by t older present walls, with which they seem coeval, at least some parts of them. The position of t Church within the Roman castrum is where we mig expect to find the prætorium. Is this Church a Rom basilica, or was it built after that pattern at a la date? Archæologists have of late years almost ignor the remains of Saxon architecture. I have, in def ence, marked the walls bounding the concrete floor Norman; but my conviction is that they are prior that date. A very voluminous correspondence a peared in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1863 and previous years between Mr. Parker, Oxford, Canon Jenkins, and Mr. Dimock, originati from a description given by Mr. Jenkins of his chur at Lyminge, Mr. Parker contending that before t tenth century churches were mostly built of woo and that no examples remained of stone church before that period, except debased Roman work. H describes the masonry of churches at this period that of the rudest possible character. The existin church at Lyminge, excepting a part of the sou wall, Mr. Parker considered as one of the eleven century. He referred to the fact that—

"Every one of our cathedrals was rebuilt in the twelf century; there is not a *vestige* of Saxon work in any one of the Lanfranc's Cathedral at Canterbury was entirely pulled down a rebuilt by Ernulf and Conrad in the time of Henry I. Wh excepting that it was either so small or so badly built, that it w not worth preserving." Further on Mr. Parker observes, "that t Roman art of building, which was chiefly of *brick*, gradually decay and died out in England; there was then an interval during whi

nearly all buildings were of wood or of rough stone without mortar; then a revival took place, and the earliest buildings erected after this revival were built of the fragments of Roman buildings, and the Roman buildings copied as well as unskilled hands could copy them." "Also he observes that the monks of almost every monastery in Western Europe had become skilled masons before the tenth century is entirely an assumption of Mr. Jenkins'. *They built very substantially, with very thick walls, and their lime being burnt on the spot, the mortar was so strong, and the grouting after became a grouting work, etc.*" (Here Mr. Parker seems to contradict himself.)

I have merely here alluded to this theory of Mr. Parker's, because his authority has generally been accepted. But, having read all the correspondence, I consider Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Dimock had the best of the argument, which went to prove that many remains existed of buildings of the sixth or at least seventh century—certainly earlier than the eleventh. But in a letter written to the *Archæological Journal*, Nov. 22, 1877, Mr. Parker recants; he writes:—

"But the truth must be acknowledged that to call the style of architecture by the names of the centuries, though very convenient, and in the main correct, is sometimes misleading. The width of the joints is a useful distinction between early and late Norman buildings; but a large proportion of the buildings of the eleventh century in England are not Norman, and the distinction does not apply to *Anglo-Saxon* buildings. Formerly, it is true, I did not acknowledge that there was any *Anglo-Saxon style*, but I am not ashamed to acknowledge that further observations during the last forty years have made me see that this was an error, though the best informed people of that time agreed with me, and considered all these *pre-Norman* buildings as debased Roman only."

We may then, without doing violence to the best authorities, consider whether we may not here have *Saxon work*. Canon Jenkins informs me a very close relationship existed between Reculver and Lyminge, and, I presume, Canterbury,* and we may fairly assume

* See *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. III, p. 19.

that the details of buildings of early date in tl places may throw light one on the other. Profe Willis has made us acquainted with the Saxon chu at Canterbury.* Canon Jenkins has explored Saxon church at Lyminge,† and I hope to shew have here another example.

From Willis we learn the Saxon cathedral—f the work of the Romans—was recovered to Christiar in 602; enlarged by Odo A.D. 950. Odo's chu was built after the plan of the ancient Basilica St. Peter's at Rome; as reconstructed by Willis it l a semicircular apse at the east as well as west er He remarks:—

"Now although the large Basilicas at Rome have transepts, in the lesser ones the building is a plain parallelogram, of w the aisles extend from end to end, and the divisions of the ch are made out upon its floor *by steps and partitions*, but do not s themselves in the external form." (P. 27.)

The resemblance at Reculver is here striking; have a division of choir and aisles by steps. An al is represented at the east end and before the front the presbytery. At Reculver we have indications an altar in the latter place, where afterwards was t cross mentioned by Leland. Again there appears have been a side passage from the presbytery to t side aisles as in Reculver, probably intended for p cessions.

At Lyminge, on the south side of the Churc Mr. Jenkins has exposed a semicircular apse, whi appears to have been separated from the nave by c cular pillars like those at Reculver, and to have h a narrow aisle, part of the wall of which appears bu

* *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 27.
† *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. X, p. ci.

into the present Church. The circular apse next the Church appears as the termination of one of the side aisles of a much larger Basilica than that at Reculver; I am inclined, however, to consider the latter probably of earlier date than the former, the material and size of walls differing.* If I might hazard a conjecture, I should say one of the aisles of a large Roman Basilica had been reconstructed into a Saxon church. However this may be, the narrow aisle is a peculiar appendage to a building so large as that at Lyminge. Willis states it was a part of the policy of Augustine, acting under the advice of Pope Gregory, not to destroy the heathen temples, but only the idols therein; and to consecrate their buildings to Christianity.† This was probably the case at Reculver, and when we consider the connection of Reculver with the Christian King Ethelbert's palace, it appears the more likely. How far Christianity was established in this country before the advent of Augustine is a disputed point, but it is not at all unlikely that even during the Roman occupation, some converts existed in this country, and Augustine is likely to have first visited those parts where some Christians were established; where indeed so likely as in the Castra on the eastern coast.

Another interesting circumstance connected with this Church was the curious cross described by Leland as standing on a base of unwrought stone. I have little doubt but that the foundations I found at the entrance to the chancel, between the pillars, were the

* Canon Jenkins informs me that it was the opinion of Lord Talbot de Malahide that Lyminge apse belonged to a building in the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.

† *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 30.

base of an altar on which the cross subsequently stood (see plan c). The position of this altar is that indicated in the instructions delivered to the Jews to be placed before the veil of the temple, as in Solomon's temple, and the heathen temples appear to have had the altar similarly placed. A fresco painting at Pompeii thus represents it, the sacrificing priest standing before the altar and facing the people.

In conclusion, it appears to me there are points in the construction of this Church of the deepest interest to the antiquary, and much in Reculver calling for further research. I have but imperfectly shadowed forth the leading features. I hope my humble endeavour will induce abler hands to take up the subject.

I cannot conclude without expressing my thanks for the able assistance given me by Mr. F. Slater; to Mr. J. Collard for the use of his curious map; to the Rev. W. B. Brown for his assistance; to Canon Jenkins for the aid he has given me in the historical portions; and to Mr. C. Roach Smith for his advice and assistance.

G. DOWKER.

STOURMOUTH, *Jan.* 1878.

MONKTON MANOR AND CHURCH.

BY THE REV. E. H. MAC LACHLAN.

MONKTON Manor was conferred on the monks of Holy Trinity, afterwards Christ Church, Canterbury, by Queen Eadgiva, or Aelfgifu, widow of Edmund the Elder, in the year 961. It was a thank-offering from the pious queen for the recovery of her lands, of which she had been unjustly deprived. The parish and manor from that time received the name of Monocstun or Monkynton,—"The Monks' Land." Of the previous inhabitants I can find no record. Skeletons recently dug up, with fragments of funeral urns, in a field in the parish, shew traces of an early, perhaps pre-Christian, population. The great fertility of the soil, its vicinity to Canterbury by Sarre Ferry, and to the Wantsum, then the watery highway from Sandwich and Thanet to the Thames, would make the manor a valuable possession of the Saxon kings. Its known history, however, dates from Eadgiva's gift. The manor extended from the lech or boundary parting it from the Minster Abbey lands, to the river Wantsum, by which it was bounded on two sides; on the third it reached to the sea. It was to be free of all taxation, save the 'trinoda necessitas' of contributing to the erection of castles, and the repelling invasion, and repairing highways. It was a goodly heritage, comprising the western portion of the Isle, except the lands held by the monks of Reculver, now forming the parish of St. Nicholas. It consisted of marsh or pasturage, arable land, and forest. The woodland seems to have been confined to the centre of the manor; hence called Wode, afterwards Wood Church, and Acole or Acholt, a name which seems to imply that oak timber originally abounded here, the acorns from which would afford

pannage for the ten hogs specified in the Domesday Survey. Salt works are also enumerated among the sources of revenue. To these would be added the produce of the fisheries of Birchington and the Wantsum, to supply the monks' table on "jours maigres." We have no reason to think, however, that there was any continuous residence of the monks in their manor as a religious community. The monastery merely leased out its land to tenants, receiving as the landlords all rents and offerings, as well as the tithes and oblations made by the inhabitants to the altars in Monkton Church and the Chapel of Wode. The archbishop was then the head of the monastery, and he and the monks had an undivided interest in all the property of this important religious house. Shortly after the Conquest, however, Archbishop Lanfranc, with the consent of the Crown, caused a division to be made of the advowsons and other property between himself and the convent. It is not easy to ascertain in the case of Monkton in what their respective shares consisted. In Domesday, the property of the archbishop and that of the monastery are mentioned as distinct: on the other hand, the archbishop, in the same survey, is described as still "tenant in chief." "The archbishop himself, in Thanet Hundred, holds Monocstune." "In the time of King Edward (the Confessor) it was taxed at 20 sulings, now 18. The arable land is 31 carucates. In the domain are four [carucates] and four score and nine villains, with 21 borderers having 27 carucates. Its whole value 40 pounds." Yet the manor is described as "Terre Monachorum Archiepi." It seems that the advowson, with the whole or half the tithes, together with the right of presentation to the benefice, henceforth belonged to the primate, who as nominal head of the monastery was still regarded as tenant in chief of the manor, all the rents and revenues of which were to be enjoyed by the prior and his brethren exclusively.

As lords of the manor, the *xenia*, or half-yearly presents or offerings made by the tenants, were received by the monks. Archbishop Richard, however, who succeeded Thomas à Becket in the primacy, made a fresh change. The murder of that famous prelate would naturally draw closer the ties

between the archbishop and the monastery. At that time the wrongs of the outraged monks of Christchurch were ringing through Christendom, and gifts of every costly description were pouring in to the martyr's shrine. Archbishop Richard now appropriated the advowson of Monkton Church to the almonry of the convent for the relief of the poor, whereas the revenue from the manor lands is specified as having been expended "pro cibo eorum," *i.e.*, of the monks themselves for the use of the refectory. This boon, however, was enjoyed by the fraternity for only a short season. To Richard succeeded Baldwyn, a Cistercian monk. Dissatisfied with the manner in which the revenues of the monastery were being lavished in sumptuous hospitality; and, no doubt, influenced by jealousy at the growing power of the prior of Christchurch, he resolved to found a college at Hackington, a suburb of Canterbury, and to resume the rights alienated by his predecessor. Accordingly he applied to Pope Lucius for authority to resume Monkton's advowson for the use of the see. The same Pontiff had originally sanctioned Archbishop Richard's appropriation. He now, however, revoked this decision, and testified his approval of the archbishop's intention. The prior on his part refusing to surrender the church, the archbishop, with a high hand, took possession of Monkton as well as Eastry, Meopham and Eynsford churches, and seized moreover the *xenia*, or offerings from the tenants of the manor itself. He then nominated one of his own chaplains to the rectory. Gervase the chronicler states that the keys of Monkton and the other churches were borrowed on the pretence of "a wish to hear the Gospel," and the opportunity was then seized to induct the archbishop's presentee. Then came the tug of war. Appeals to Rome and to the crown, and then counter appeals, followed in rapid succession. In these Monkton Church, and the *xenia* from Monkton Manor, figure conspicuously. It was notably the chief bone of contention, and must have contained meat and marrow, judging from the heat and pertinacity with which the dispute was carried on. The monks, in their turn, appealed to the Pope, who made an attempt to mediate between the belligerents, but quite in vain. The monastery

withdrew their first appeal; but on the archbishop retaining the advowson, as well as the *xenia*, which undoubtedly belonged to them as owners of the manor, a fresh appeal was made to Rome. Baldwyn then proceeded to further measures, seizing the whole of the estates of the monastery, suspending the prior, and shutting up the cathedral. To strengthen himself in his new aggression, Baldwyn appealed to the king. Henry II, whose back and whose pride still smarted from the stripes of his monkish flagellators, was secretly on the side of the archbishop, although professing to be impartial. The struggle between the primate and the monks continued under the papacy of Urban, Gregory, Clement, and Celestine. Henry II died 1189, leaving the breach still unhealed. A legate was despatched from Rome to settle the dispute, but although propitiated by the prior with a present of "a handsome grey coat and a robe of marten skin," he failed to restore harmony. He evidently feared the wrath of the new king, Richard of the Lion Heart, who, when the monks sent messengers saluting him as their lord, exclaimed, "I *was* their lord, and will be yet, small thanks to you, ye wicked traitors." In 1192 Baldwyn died, and in the primacy of Hubert, his successor, the vexed question was at last settled by arbitration. The estates of the monastery which had been seized by the late archbishop were to be restored. Symon, the sinecure presentee of Baldwyn to the rectory of Monkton, was to retain it till his death. Then a division was to be made. The manor of Monkton was to rest with the monks, as well as the *xenia* therefrom. They were also to have half the tithe, with the exception of the "altaragium," by which was meant the moveable furniture of the church and chapels, together with the offerings made at the high altar, and all tithes not "bladum, legumen et fœnum," corn, vegetables, and hay. This, with the advowson of the living and the right of presentation, was to belong to the archbishops.

So things continued till 1365. The manor during this time, as afterwards, remained the property of the monastery, as appears by an unsuccessful attempt made by Edward II, when sorely pressed for money during his wars with

Scotland and France, to deprive them of this fertile and lucrative domain. Their right of possession was distinctly confirmed by a deed of Edward II. Archbishop Islip in 1365 exchanged the advowsons of Monkton and three other churches, with the monks of Christ Church, for certain benefices in London. Monkton Church was thenceforth finally appropriated to the almonry. In connexion with this settlement, I may mention how a dry legal document can be illustrated, or enlivened, by clerkly or monastic waggishness. On the frontispiece of the grave deed conveying the advowson to the almoner, still preserved in the Cathedral Library, appears the following rude sketch. A huntsman is represented as blowing a horn, which he holds in one hand, while in the other he carries a hunting pole, from which a hare is suspended; while in front another hare appears all-but within snapping distance of a greyhound in full chase after him. Possibly these hares may have been the direct ancestors of those which still afford yearly sport to the lovers of coursing in this locality. In another corner of the page appears a figure of Plenty holding her horn, or perhaps of Fame, with her trumpet, announcing to all comers the acquisition of the property. Three years later Monkton was constituted a vicarage by Islip's successor, and a residence and portion of the tithe assigned to the vicars for their maintenance; the nomination to the vicarage being probably reserved to himself by the archbishop.

I have before remarked that the monks at no time appear to have resided on the manor. A bailiff, or *villicus*, occupying the parsonage as "*persona*" of the monastery, represented them, received the tithes and probably acted as steward of the manor. It is quite possible, however, that from time to time Monkton would be resorted to by the brethren as a temporary residence. Hasted mentions twelve stalls in the chancel of the church for their accommodation; and Prior Selling is said to have built in 1480 a new dormitory, perhaps where Monkton Court now stands. In days when the plague, sweating sickness, and other diseases haunted the quaint and picturesque but narrow and ill-ventilated streets of towns and cities, such as Canterbury,

it must have been a pleasant change for sick monks to pass a few days in the breezy lands of Thanet. Possibly the right of free warren which the monastery enjoyed, and the prospect of hunting the aforesaid hares,—for even archbishops went hunting then,—may have added to the attraction. That the prior occasionally visited Monkton Manor is certain from a curious bill preserved in the Cathedral Library at Canterbury, given by one of the bailiffs to the existing prior. It contains the following items:—

"Bill endentyed the ivth day of December in the viith year of the rayne of King Henry VIIth witnesseth that John Martyn hath received of my Lord Prior, dyvers stuffes for my Lord's chamber and chapell in the Almonry of Monkton above such stuffes as the said John had in keeping before, as appeareth by wytness. 1. A payre of vestments, cloth of baudekin, the orphreys blewe with fleurs de lys of gold. Item in the chamber, 1 payre of sheets, 1 pillow of down coveryd with linen cloth, and a tassell of white sylke. A qwylt with v leopards and byrdes. Item, 1 coverlete with lyons bordered with cloudys. 1 mattress with bars: also ii cochens, whereof one with a lyon and the other of red say. Item, ii curtains of blue buccram, with swanys, stayned. Item, I covering to a bed of Lord Alexander, colorys yellow and green, lyned with blew buccram. Item, one tester of the same colorys, lyned with canvas. Item, a square coffer, and a tabyll standing in my Lord's chamber. Item, a basen with a ewer of laten, with a candlestick doble nozzyd, with two branches."

From this may be inferred that the lord prior, when he came to Monkton, had temporary apartments found him in the parsonage by the steward or bailiff, and further, that when he paid Monkton a visit, he slept very softly and luxuriously in his dainty bed and bed furniture. I have only to add, that the manor and advowson remained in the possession of the monks till the Dissolution in 38 Henry VIII. The manor was then surrendered to the Crown, and it is to be remarked that in the deed of surrender the archbishop joins, shewing that he was still considered, as nominal abbot, to have an interest in the lands. The king bestowed the manor of Monkton on the Dean and Chapter of his new foundation. It was afterwards leased by them to Queen

Elizabeth, who bestowed it on her favourite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Shortly after, however, the lease reverted to the Chapter of Canterbury, who hold it still.

To this account of the manor of Monkton a short notice of Monkton Church may be fittingly appended. It appears to have been built late in the Norman period, when the round arch was giving place to the pointed. Perhaps "rebuilt" may be the more correct expression; for an earlier church is mentioned as existing in the time of the Domesday Survey. It originally consisted of chancel, nave, and north aisle, with a low western tower. The windows (blocked-up traces of which are still visible in the tower and south wall) were very simple, not to say rude, consisting of narrow round-headed lights, with hood mouldings. The chancel arch rests on round piers, and the angles of their capitals and bases are carved with grotesque heads. In each pier a corbel, inserted to support the rood beam, still remains. The tower was originally lower, and contains, on the ground floor, a deeply splayed window. In Hasted the historian's time the tower contained a very ancient spiral wooden staircase, which, as I am informed, old people in the parish still remember, but on the restoration of the church it was removed. A piscina of Norman style is in the south wall of the *sacrarium*. The north aisle was divided from the nave by five pointed arches, resting on square piers, which shew the early date of its construction. The walls, unlike those of the neighbouring church of St. Nicholas at Wade, which are faced with flint, consist of rubble mixed with flint and sandstone, welded together promiscuously by mortar. The original roof was of higher pitch than the present one, and must have had a long lean-to roof projecting over the north aisle. The entrance formerly was through the tower, in which is a low weather-worn doorway, with pointed arch surrounded with herring-bone masonry. In the south wall, however, is another door, now closed, the approach apparently from Monkton Court, on the site of which perhaps were the monks' occasional lodgings. The flooring of the church, as may be seen by comparing the height of this doorway within the church with the exterior, must have been some two feet

below the level of the present churchyard. The chancel floor was originally a step lower than the floor of the nave, and, as an advocate for restoration of churches to be what their architects designed them, I cannot but regret that this peculiarity was not preserved when the church was munificently restored by my predecessor. The church underwent important alterations, some time about the beginning of the Perpendicular style. This would correspond to the period when the advowson was handed over by Archbishop Islip to the monastery, shortly after which a resident vicar was appointed. The alterations then made in the fabric seem to have been as follows: the greater portion of the north aisle was taken down, although a portion of it still stood when Lewis and Hasted wrote their histories. It had probably become ruinous, and the inhabitants and vicar may have lacked the funds to restore it. Into the arches, blocked up, were inserted Perpendicular windows, the same type of window being then substituted in the chancel and south wall for the round-headed ones of the earlier period. The monastery would probably at the same time restore or rebuild the chancel, the windows in which correspond with those in the restored nave, although, as has been said, the original Norman piers supporting the chancel arch remain. A wooden roof, with king-posts and tie-beams, was placed over nave and chancel, but of lower pitch than the former. The present porch on the north side was then built, and the tower raised, the upper story being fitted with Decorated windows. Hasted mentions stalls existing in his time in the chancel, and that the glass of the windows exhibited heads of St. Mildred, of the kings Lucius and Ethelred, as well as of some of the priors, which have now disappeared. The church was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and contained her image, as well as that of the blessed Virgin, as appears from the Wills in the Registry at Canterbury, in which money is left by testators to furnish lights to burn before them. Monkton Church contains one very perfect brass, in memory of a secular priest, in his ecclesiastical vestments, the scroll of which has long disappeared. It has been assigned to about 1460, and has been thought to represent

Sir John, or as we should say, the Rev. John Spyer, or Spycer, a benefactor of the church, who died about that time.

Into the stone, containing the above, has been in later days absurdly inserted a post-reformation brass, to the memory of Lebbie or Lebbœus Orchard, who died 1580, and who is stated to have been lessee of the manor at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. Here the formula—"whose soul resteth with the Lord God,"—replaces the medieval prayer for the soul of the departed. This notice of Monkton Church may be appropriately closed by a curious couplet, in rhyming monkish verse, which once was affixed to the wall near the west end of the nave. We may forgive the false quantities for the sake of the insular enthusiasm of the composer:—

"Insula rotunda, Tanetos, quam circuit unda,
Fertilis et munda, nulla est in orbe secunda."

which may be thus rendered:

"Thanet, that island round, which waters bound
So sound, with fruits so crowned, what second can be found."

From the church, the transition is natural to the incumbents and ministers thereof. With a few details, therefore, regarding my predecessors, I will close this paper. The changes in the appropriation of the Monkton advowson of course affected the ecclesiastical status of its officials. In the earliest times, till the division by Archbishop Anselm, Monkton, with its dependent chapel, would be served by regular priests from the monastery. From that period, 1077, with a short interval in the primacy of Archbishop Richard, Monkton was a rectory conferred by the Archbishops on non-resident priests, such as Simon Sywell, Archdeacon of Wells, and Vice-Chancellor of the Archbishop, appointed by Baldwyn. The rectory was therefore a sinecure, and the services provided by substitutes, or curates in charge. Among these rectors was James, nephew of Francis, Cardinal of St. Lucia, in Rome. He was appointed rector of Monkton by Pope Celestine V, during the vacancy of the archbishopric, and confirmed in the benefice by his successor Boniface, who tried hard to prevail on King Edward I to allow his presentee to retain it. This, how-

ever, the king, in a council held at Berwick for other matters, refused, as "against the right of the realm." Thus, this obscure parish again came to the front, and (as I am gratified to state) furnished an opportunity for vindicating our national independence from the claims of Papal aggression. As has been before stated, three years after Islip restored the rectory to the monks, his successor made the parish a vicarage. The deed of appointment set forth that the vicar shall have one hall with two chambers, a kitchen, a dovecote, a court lodge, or curtilagium, with fit garden or enclosure. Here I may ask, why were dovecotes always included in ancient glebe houses? Were they typical of the presumed dove-like character of those who inhabited them? Or, in days when the butcher did not, as now, make his daily rounds, were they, as furnishing pigeon pies and other parts of the bill of fare, no inconsiderable elements in supplying the reverend man's larder? The said vicar was bound (although then diocesan surveyors and Dilapidation Acts were not) to keep the premises in repair, as well as to contribute to keeping up the church. A tenth of the produce of the parish lands, together with £12. 1s. 8d. yearly in money, were assigned to him as stipend. As, however, out of this, besides his liabilities at home, he was to provide a priest or chaplain for the chapels of Wode and Birchington. At Birchington, a chapelry of later date than Woodchurch, likewise in the manor, the chaplain was to celebrate daily, if possible, at Wode, on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Wax lights for the said chapels were to be provided from the offerings to the mother church, but on the other hand, the chapels were to contribute towards the repairs of Monkton. The vicar was to provide vestments, and to *bind* the service books, the books themselves being supplied by the rectors. These liabilities proving rather burdensome to the vicars, a small pension, amounting to £6. 0s. 10d. half-yearly, was paid them, as a gratuity from the monastery; copies of receipts for this pension are still in the Cathedral Library. I append a transcript:—

Mem^{d}.: quod Ego Mr. Johes Heynys Vicarius de Monkton recepi de D'no Priore Ecclie X. Cant. Anno D'ni. Mill'mo quinqua-

gesimo duodecimo die mensis Maie quinto, per manus Roberti Taylor vj^{li} x^{d} in parte pensionis meæ anni presentis, de manu propria.

Another receipt is in the quaint old English of the time, viz.,

Med.: "That I John Heynys vycar of Monketon have recevyd of my Lord Prior of Chrystys cherche by the hands of John Bydell the last day of Aprell the yer of our Lord mcccccxxiii vi^{lbs} x^{d} in parte of my pension of this y'r present."

Bydell was steward of the monastery, and the said payments were made to the vicar, whose effigy, as I have said, lies in the front of the chancel. I ought not to omit in mentioning ancient vicars, that Sir John Spycer, above cited, as dying 1460, left, by his will, money to buy a chasuble, two tunicles, and the apparel thereunto for the parish church. After the Dissolution the vicars of Monkton were for a time apparently appointed by the Chapter, and, in one instance, by the lessee of the manor, the Earl of Leicester. At the Visitation of Archbishop Parker, 1566, Robert Flote was vicar; he is described as "*non conjugatus*" a bachelor, "*non Latine doctus*" not a Latin scholar, "*non hospitalis*" not a giver of dinner parties, "*nullum habens beneficium*" unbeneficed, *i.e.*, perhaps without other preferment.

In 1640, when the Puritan storm was gathering and darkening over the Church and kingdom, Meric Casaubon, son of the celebrated foreign refugee, Isaac Casaubon, was vicar, holding, like his predecessor, the living of Minster with Monkton. Among the complaints from aggrieved parishioners to the Parliamentary Committee of Religion was one signed by thirty-three inhabitants of Monkton, and endorsed by Sir E. Dering, J.P., which set forth that the said Meric, prebendary of Christ Church, held the vicarages of Minster, Monkton, and Birchington, his income from all ecclesiastical sources being £640 per annum. The said Meric was zealously observant of all innovations, for he hath enforced the parishioners to rayle in and separate the Communion table from the rest of the chancel to their, the parishioners, charge of £5. "When it was done, because it satisfied not the doctor's phancy, he procured new processe against the churchwardens to alter it, and an excommunication against them

for not being as speedy therein as he required, to the parish cost of 40s.; and to shew his inebriated humor (metaphorically 'inebriated,' it is to be hoped), he caused the churchwarden, then under excommunication, before he could be absolved, to bind himself by oath to perform what was required of him. And although there is sufficient means in the said parish, without the help of any other place, to maintain a preaching minister there, yet he himself seldom cometh thither, but keeps a curate there—a weak and unable man, unworthy of imitation in life or doctrine." This petition ends, a curious sign of the times, by praying not only "for the long and prosperous reign of the King," Charles I, but for "the prosperous successe of the high and honorable Court of Parliament."

Other charges, especially that of repelling communicants who would not come up to the rails, were brought against the vicar by the parishioners of Minster, who further complained that "he bowed to the altar." The doctor, in his defence, alleged that Birchington and Monkton were one benefice, and only brought him in, after paying dues and curates, £50 per annum; also, that Minster and Monkton lay close together. To the charge of having removed the Communion table in Monkton church to the east end, and railing it in, he declares he "was compelled to do so by the Court without any intermeddling of his." He only began bowing to the altar when it was commanded in the Cathedral of Canterbury, but he never enforced it on others. He always resided in one or other of the vicarages most part of the summer, except once, when hindered by the plague, and would reside longer, but for the unhealthiness of the place. Further, he deposed that "the curate he hath in Monkton is approved by the greater part of the parish, and was once so well liked for a while by some, that have now testified against him, that they offered him a good reward to preach twice, whereas I require but once." The charges brought by the Minster parishioners he also rebutted, but these, as not directly relating to Monkton, I omit; however, Meric Casaubon was deprived, and a Presbyterian, one Thorogood, made vicar of Monkton and Birchington during the Common-

wealth. After King Charles enjoyed his own again, "on the memorable 'black Bartholomew's day,'" 1662, Mr. Thorogood was among the 2000 Nonconformists who honourably resigned their preferments rather than sign the Act of Uniformity, "and undeprived his benefice forsook."

Dr. Casaubon was then restored, but soon resigned this living for a more lucrative one elsewhere.

I have just one more fact to record, or rather an alleged fact, let us hope, as regards one of my reverend predecessors, it may be a libel! It accounts, at all events, for the total absence of nearly all ancient documents relating to Monkton parish. The question might naturally be asked, What are the contents of the registers of this church? In so ancient a parish, are there no old oaken worm-eaten iron-bound chests full of parchments, yellow with age, illustrating the parochial history in bygone generations? Alas, for archæology! I can only reply, in the terms of a certain history of Ireland, in which the heading of one of the chapters purported to be, "Of Snakes in Ireland;" on turning, however, to the page, the reader was informed, "There are no snakes in Ireland;" so, as to ancient registers and records, the answer is, "There are absolutely none in Monkton." The registers only go back to 1700. The reason assigned for the disappearance of earlier records is this. At a festive meeting, at which the then vicar, churchwardens and others were present, and when the punch-bowl had perhaps circulated freely, the subject of a certain old chest in the church was brought forward. It was agreed that it should be then and there produced and inspected. The old register, archives and other papers were overhauled, and being voted as useless lumber, they were forthwith committed, like Don Quixote's books of romance, to the flames. As an apology for this act of vandalism, it must be remembered that the Kent Archæological Society was not then in existence, and had not entered on its valuable work of calling the attention of parishioners to the value and interest of the records of the days of old, and their due responsibility to preserve them. One word more, as a parting tribute to the "monks" who gave their name to this parish.

> "The evil that men do lives after them;
> The good is oft interred with their bones."

So it has fared with the inhabitants of monasteries in this and other countries. The mention of "the monks of old" too often merely calls up the idea of indolent, well-fed, useless, brainless ecclesiastics, compensating their celibacy with the enjoyment of the good things of this life, and sometimes with many a foul blot on their reputation. But, true as such charges may have often been, let us give the monks their due. A debt of gratitude is owed to them as benefactors of the lands where their religious houses were founded. In days of rudeness and ignorance they cultivated the arts; they were the builders, the architects, the sculptors, the painters, the illuminators of mediæval times. In their scriptoria or libraries, they preserved and handed down treasures of secular and sacred learning, which but for them must have perished. When there was as yet no poor-law, by the doles at the monastery gate the poor and needy were fed, and the sick visited, and the naked clothed at the expense of the cowled fathers. Their walls were often a refuge for persecuted innocence, and a sanctuary against lawless oppressors, offering, too, a hospitable welcome and a kindly shelter to many a homeless wanderer. Finally, within the convent walls in stately minster or Decorated chapel God was daily and nightly worshipped, His praises ever chanted, and the lamp of devotion kept burning, dimmed indeed by superstition, and crusted over with the traditions of men, but often with clear, true, and fervent flame, "a light shining in a dark place," till the day-spring of a purified faith and better knowledge dawned on our Church and land.

VILLENAGE IN KENT.

THE conclusion arrived at by Mr. Furley, in his History of the Weald of Kent, will commend itself generally as the most probable solution of the obscure question of villenage in Kent.

"I cannot imagine," he says, "any other reason than that the claim [of exemption from villenage] originated with *the free tenure of the land in Kent*, and not the emancipation of the person from hereditary bondage." (vol. i., p. 263.)

This opinion is corroborated by general and local history. That there were villeins, and *servi*, in Kent at the time of the Domesday and afterwards, no one who takes the trouble to acquaint himself with the subject can entertain a doubt. Still, the boast or claim that there were never slaves in Kent has evidence in its favour, and moreover the support of at least one eminent modern writer. It will therefore perhaps be deemed worth while to consider the grounds on which it is based.

Hallam, whose adoption of the traditionary opinion obtained for it, probably, much of its present authority, writes as follows:—

"By the demands of these rioters (the insurgents of 1381) we perceive that territorial servitude was far from extinct; but it should not be hastily concluded that all were *personal villeins*, for a large proportion were Kentishmen, *to whom that condition could not have applied;* it being a good bar to a writ, *de nativitate probandâ*, that the party's* father was born in the County of Kent."

For this statement he refers to three authorities:—30 Edw. I in Fitz-herbert; Villenage apud Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent;* Somner *On Gavelkind*, p. 72.

* *Middle Ages*, vol. iii., p. 108.

We will proceed in the inverse order, and take the last of these authorities first.

The reference to Somner confirms to a great extent Hallam's opinion. For it seems from an old Lieger that, among the articles by which the auditor made enquiry of the bailiffs of the Cathedral manors in general, were some concerning the payments made by '*nativi*' for licence to work beyond the limits of the manor, to marry their daughters, and to enjoy other liberties. But these enquiries were *not* addressed to the bailiffs of Kentish manors, a circumstance which leads to the presumption that there were not at that time any *nativi* or *servi* on the Cathedral estates in Kent.

Somner, however, goes on to shew that at that period—*temp.* Edw. II, *Villenage* existed on other estates in the County. In his *Appendix*, Scriptura 15, he gives a copy of a Writ of 7th Edw. II to the assessors of a tenth and fifteenth in Kent, for the relief of the villeins of the Abbot of S. Augustine's. Their goods and chattels had been taxed without deduction of the rents, services, and customary payments rendered to the Abbot, which were already taxed among his spirituals. In the reign of Henry III, also, villenage existed on the estates of the same Abbey. A tenant of S. Augustine's did homage to the Abbot for land held by the custom or tenure of Gavelkind, covenanting to perform as much service to his lord as to the same villenage appertained. A copy of this deed is given in Somner's *Appendix*, Scriptura 16.

Again, Somner quotes the Laws of Henry I, cap. 76, which make mention of *Villani* in Kent: "Differentia tamen Weregildi multa est in Cantiâ Villanorum et Baronum." In Domesday, also, *villani* are mentioned.

But these references are probably not altogether to the point; for, apparently, it was not of exemption from villenage in general, but of '*personal villeins*' (by which term *servi* or *nativi* must be intended) that Hallam writes in the before-named passage. Of the existence, however, of this class in Kent, Somner furnishes some plain evidence. He quotes *Domesday-book*, in which '*servi*' of many manors are spoken of. They were, he says, specially to be found in

Southfleet, Stone, Falkham, Wouldham, Trottescliffe, Snodland, Halling, Frindsbury, and in other manors belonging to the Bishop and Cathedral Church of Rochester.

From *Domesday*, after making one or two references to the servitude of the '*Cotarii*,' he descends to the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the year 1407, Sir W. Septvans of Milton, near Canterbury, by will enfranchised his slaves.

"Item lego Adam Standerd, Thomæ Hammonde, Roberto Standerd, Roberto Chirche, & Johanni Richesforde, *servis et nativis meis*, pro bono servitio mihi ab eisdem facto, plenam libertatem, et volo quod quilibet eorundem habeat cartam manumissionis, sigillo meo signatam, in testimonium hujusmodi meæ ultimæ voluntatis."

This will is unimpeachable testimony; while of the existence of servitude at the time of Wat Tyler's insurrection, twenty-five years before, we have the documentary evidence published by Mr. Flaherty.* The testimony of the Approver Cote, *that the accused persons Harding, Munde, Bright*, etc., proposed to make John of Gaunt King of England, if it were true, as stated by strangers who came from the north, that he had freed his *natives* in every county of England;† and further, the poverty of the men who had "no goods nor chatells of land nor tenements," lead to the supposition that they themselves were *nativi*—the lowest class of agricultural labourers.

The adverse opinion of Mr. Thorold Rogers must not however be passed over. His researches begin with A.D. 1259, and they negatively confirm Hallam's statement that there were no personal villeins in Kent in 1381, for he has found no trace of personal servitude, nor of any other peculiar incidents of customary holding in the accounts of Kentish estates examined by him.

We will now proceed to enquire what corroboration Lambarde, who is the second of Hallam's authorities, gives to his text.

"It appeereth," he says, "by claime made in our auncient treatise, that the bodies of all Kentish persons be of free condition, which also is confessed to be true, 30 Edw. I, in the title of Villen-

* Vols. III. and IV. of *Archæologia Cantiana*.
† *Archæologia Cantiana*, IV, p. 76.

age 46 in Fitzherbert: where it is holden sufficient for a man to avoid the objection of bondage to say, that his Father was born in the Shyre of Kent: but whether it will serve in that case to say that himself was borne in Kent I have knowne it (for good reason) doubted."*

In the "ancient Roll," alluded to by Lambarde, and appended to the Perambulation, it is stated that it was allowed by the justices in Eyre in the 21st of Edw. I, that all the bodies of Kentishmen be free, as well as the other free bodies of England.

Lambarde's second reference confirmatory of the ancient treatise is to Fitzherbert, the author referred to by Hallam in the first place. Fitzherbert was an eminent judge in the reign of Henry VIII. He composed, among other works, the *New Natura Brevium*, and *La Grande Abridgement*. In the latter work, under the head of Villenage, is to be found the passage referred to by Lambarde and by Hallam. It is as follows:—

Fitzherbert's *La Grande Abridgement*, fol: London, Ric. Pynson 1516, f. 204 verso.

Art. "*Villenage*," paragraph 46; An: 30 Ed. I Iter Cornub.

§ *Mutt.* si vn nyeffe espouse vn fraunsre home apres la mort son baron el retournet a son primer estat.

§ *Brumpt.* quod dictum fluum *(sic)* est.

§ *Hervy.* pocius virum extra fluum *(sic)*.

§ *King.* si le seignor marie son nieffe el est fraunsre toutz jours apres la mort son baron que fuit le seignor auter est si estraunge marie mon nyeffe el ne serra fraunsre mes dur' le espousage. *Brumpt* ieo veie en brefe de Nyeste nyeffe dit que el fuit fraunsre &c. et l'enquest trouve que le pere cesty que fuit claim' come nyeffe fuit nasquit en Kent et savois pluis enquer' fuit ag. q' el fuit fraunsre &c. pour ceo que il nad villen en Kent &c.

The judges were on their '*iter*' in Cornwall, when a case of villenage came before them. The lady of the manor claimed the widow of a freeman as her nief. This person, Ismeyn, was born in the manor, but had been absent thirty years, and on returning to her native place, in her widowhood, was subjected to the lady's claim. The case,

* Vide *Perambulation of Kent.*

which is fully given by Mr. Horwood in his edition of the Yearbook, under 30 Edw. I, was not decided. The judges appear to have been averse from admitting the lady's right which, however, seems to have been agreeable to Cornish custom, though doubtless oppressive in itself. Judge Brumpton's remark, which is not verbally the same in the Yearbook as in Fitzherbert, is thus given by Mr. Horwood :—

"Ie vy en un bref de neyfte, ou cely qe fut demaunde com neyfe se dist estre fraunke etrove fut par enquest qe son pere nasquit en Kent; sanz plus enquerir si fut il agarde pur fraunke, par ce qil ad nul vylenage en Kent."

He translates the *dictum* thus :—

"I recollect a case of a writ of neyfe, where he who was claimed as a vilein said he was free, and it was found by the inquest that his father was born in Kent; and without further enquiry he was declared free because there is no vilenage in Kent."

Possibly the Judge may have recalled to mind something that occurred nine years before, in the 21st of Edw. I, when, as we have seen, it was allowed by the Justices in Eyre (according to Lambarde's ancient Treatise) that all Kentishmen were free.

Hallam speaks of a writ '*de nativitate probandâ*,' which was, he says, effectually barred if the party claimed pleaded that his father was born in Kent. No such writ is mentioned in Fitzherbert's *Natura Brevium*. The writ *de libertate probandâ* was purchased by the villein as a bar to the lord's proceedings under the writ *de nativo habendo*. It stopped the lord from seizing him, or from proceeding on the writ of *nativo habendo* till the *eyre* of the Justices. It may be mentioned in passing that this writ *de libertate probandâ* was rendered useless to the villein by the Statute 25 Edw. III, c. 18, whereby it was ordained that the lord might seize his villein, and allege villenage, in an action brought against him by the villein, although the latter had a writ *de libertate probandâ* depending, which is determinable before the justices *in banco*, or the justices *in eyre*. This Statute may have been one cause among many of the rebellion in 1381.

The *Writ of Nief* is mentioned in the *Natura Brevium*, but there is not a full account of it. The *Nief* was a female slave, a bondwoman; and the writ was issued to obtain possession of her. Thus there seems to be some obscurity in the use of the words by Brumpton, who speaks of a *man* being claimed by a writ of *nief*. Probably he employs the term as synonymous with '*de nativo habendo*.' But the two writs do not seem to have been identical.

Hallam's authorities in support of this statement are, then, Somner, Lambarde, and the '*dictum*' of Brumpton at Launceston. Though he was only speaking from memory, Brumpton's remark is of great weight. For it not merely shews what was the general opinion on the subject *at that time*, but it states the decision of a court of law.

It was, one must suppose, an accepted legal maxim, in the reign of Edward I, that no person of Kentish descent could be in *personal villenage*. That this legal maxim or decision was always respected is very unlikely. But even if it were, the existence of *servi* in Kent, in 1381 and later, may possibly be accounted for, if in no other way, by importation. Barons and lords of manors who had estates in other counties might bring superfluous "hands"—*servi* for whom they had no employment—as easily as any other chattels into Kent; and these immigrants, not being of Kentish extraction, would not be entitled to their freedom.

As Mr. Furley says, the claim of exemption from servitude originated most likely in the free tenure of land. This claim was doubtless countenanced and allowed by the judges, who usually were disposed, like Judge Brumpton in Cornwall, to strain a point in favour of liberty.

M. T. Pearman.

KENT FINES.*

258. At Canterbury, St. Michael in one month A° 7—Betw. Master Robert de Honynton', clerk, *plt.*, and William de Thrulche (? should be "Thrulehe"), clerk, and Dionisia his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., and 6 acr. land, with appurts., in Patrikesburne and Lyuyngesburne. William and Dionisia admit it to be the Right of Robert; and, for themselves and the heirs of Dionisia, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 20 *marks* for the concession.

259. At Canterbury, Morrow of Souls A° 7—Betw. Bartholomew le Draper, of Westgate, and Johanna his wife, and John son of Bartholomew le Draper, and Johanna sister of said John *plts.*, and Alexander Cokyn *deft.*, of 3 mess., with appurts., in Westgate next Canterbury. Right of Alexander, who, for the admission, grants to Bartholomew and Johanna and to his heirs by her; but if none, then after their deaths to remain to John and Johanna his sister for their lives, and after their decease to remain to the right heirs of Johanna wife of Bartholomew.

260. At Canterbury, St. Michael in one month A° 7—Betw. John Tauncre and Alice his wife *plts.*, and Walter de Shorne and John de St. Nicholas *defts.*, of 1 mess., and 80 acr. land, with appurts., in Wodnesbergh'. Right of Walter; for which admission Walter and John grant to John and Alice and to the heirs of same John Tauncre.

261. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. John de Rysebergh' and Johanna his wife *plts.*, and Thomas de Caunuill' and Eua his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 1 carucate of land, 12 acr. mead., 40 acr. past., 15 acr. wood, 26*s.* 8*d.* rent., and rent of 2 lbs. of wax and 3 lbs. of pepper, with appurts., in Westreham. Right of Eua; for which admission Thomas and Eua grant to John and Johanna and to the heirs of the body of Johanna, in consideration of receiving an annuity of 20*l.* per annum during their lives, and of the service after their deaths of a rose to the heirs of Thomas at Nativity of St. John Baptist. If it happen that Johanna die without heirs of her body, then, after the decease of John and Johanna, to remain to Johanna elder daughter of the aforesaid Eua and to the heirs of her body; but if none, then after her death to revert to Thomas and Eua and to the heirs of Thomas.

262. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. John Attewell' and Lauina his wife *plts.*, and William de Haudlo *deft.*, of 1 mess., 2 caracutes of land, 100 acr. wood, 60*s.*

* Continued from Vol. XI., p. 358.

rent, and rent of 30 hens, with appurts., in Hakinton', Bleen, and Whytstaple. Right of William, who, for the admission, grants to John and Lauina and to the heirs of John.

263. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Andrew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Stephen, son of William le Tannere, and John brother of said Stephen *plts.*, and Robert de Snodbeme and Elena his wife *defts.*, of 18 acr. land, 20*d.* rent, and a moiety of 1 acr. of mead., with appurts., in Brabourn'. Robert and Elena admit it to be the Right of Stephen; and, for themselves and the heirs of Robert,* grant to Stephen and John and to the heirs of Stephen, and receive 10*l.* for the concession.

264. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Andrew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Matilda le Marchale *plt.*, and Andrew le Treour and Alice his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 20 acr. land, 2½ acr. mead., and 3½ acr. past., with appurts., in Leyburn', Lodesdon', and Berlyng'. Whereupon an assize of *mort d'ancestor* was summoned between them in Court. Matilda admits it to be the Right of Andrew; and, for herself and her heirs, remits and quit-claims to Andrew and Alice and to the heirs of Andrew, and receives for the remission etc. 10*l.*

265. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Andrew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Robert de Hornesclyue *plt.*, and Mirabella de Hornesclyue *deft.*, of 1 mess., with appurts., in Osprenge next Eslyng'. Mirabella admits it to be the Right of Robert; and, for herself and her heirs, grants to him and to his heirs, and receives 100*s.* for the concession.

266. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Andrew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. John Malemeyns, of Ho, *plt.*, and Robert Carpeyn and Celestria his wife *defts.*, of 1 toft, and 4½ acr. land, with appurts., in Roluendenne. Robert and Celestria admit it to be the Right of John; and, for themselves and the heirs of Celestria, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 10 *marks* for the concession.

267. At Canterbury, Octave of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Henry le Porter and Juliana his wife *plts.*, and John de Shelueston' and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., with appurts., in Canterbury. Right of Johanna; for which admission John and Johanna, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna, grant to Henry and Juliana and to the heirs of Henry.

268. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. John atte More and Stephen his son *plts.*, and William le Tannere and Agatha his wife *defts.*, of 7 acr. land, with appurts., in

* The quit-claim, in line before, is "from them and the heirs of *Elena*;" but possibly one or the other is an error.

Benynden'. William and Agatha admit it to be the Right of Stephen; and, for themselves and the heirs of Agatha, grant to John and Stephen and to the heirs of Stephen, and receive 100*s.* for the concession.

269. At Canterbury, Morrow of Souls A° 7—Betw. Richard de Rokesle and Johanna his wife *plts.*, and Philip de Herst' and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of the Manor of Horsmondenne, with appurts., and the advowson of the Church of the said Manor. Philip and Johanna admit it to be the Right of Richard; and, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna wife of Philip, remit and quit-claim to Richard and Johanna and to the heirs of Richard, and receive for the remission etc. 100*l.*

270. At Canterbury, Morrow of Souls A° 7—Betw. Thomas Poucyn and Margeria his wife *plts.*, and John le Ken, of Bysshopesdenne, and Matilda his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., with appurts., in Canterbury. Thomas and Margeria admit it to be the Right of John; and, for themselves and the heirs of Margeria, remit and quit-claim to John and Matilda and to the heirs of John, and receive for the remission etc. 10*l.*

271. At Canterbury, Morrow of Souls A° 7—Betw. John Bernard, of Shorne, *plt.*, and Walter Attehethe and Lucia his wife *defts.*, of 2½ acr. land, with appurts., in Shorne. Right of Lucia; for which admission Walter and Lucia, for themselves and the heirs of Lucia, grant to John and to his heirs.

272. At Canterbury, Morrow of Souls A° 7—Betw. Thomas de Sandwyco and Johanna his wife and John, son of said Thomas, *plts.*, and Daniel de Stonyene and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of a moiety of 2 mess., 11 acr. land, 16*d.* rent, and rent of 1 quarter and 6 bushels of barley and 1 hen, with appurts., in Essh' next Sandwich. Daniel and Johanna his wife admit it to be the Right of John; and, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna wife of Daniel, grant to Thomas and Johanna his wife and to John and to the heirs of John, and receive 20*l.* for the concession.

273. At Canterbury, St. Michael in one month A° 7—Betw. Thomas, son of William le Hore, *plt.*, and William Whyteberd and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., with appurts., in Maydenestan. William and Johanna admit it to be the Right of Thomas; and, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna, remit and quit-claim to him and to his heirs, and receive for the remission etc. 10 *marks.*

274. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Walter de Pykwell' and Johanna his wife *plts.*, and

Richard, Master of the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, of Suthwerk', *deft.*, of 8 acr. land, with appurts., in Cherleton'. Walter and Johanna admit it to be the Right of the said Master and his Hospital of St. Thomas aforesaid; and, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna, grant to him and to his successors and their Hospital of St. Thomas aforesaid, and receive 10*l.* for the concession.

275. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Martin A° 7—Betw. Peter le Bolenger, of Canterbury, *plt.*, and William Curceys (? should be "Curteys") and Celestria his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 4 acr. land, (and) 2*s.* 3*d.* rent, with appurts., in Natyndon'. William and Celestria admit it to be the Right of Peter; and, for themselves and the heirs of Celestria, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 10*l.* for the concession.

276. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Adam, son of Edmund de Carwyton' (? should be "Garwynton"), *plt.*, and Roger de Carwynton' and Dionisia his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 9 acr. and 3 roods of land, and 1 acr. wood, with appurts., in Icham. Roger and Dionisia admit it to be the Right of Adam; and, for themselves and the heirs of Dionisia, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 20*l.* for the concession.

277. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Master Geoffrey de Heghham *plt.*, and Thomas Burghman and Alice his wife *defts.*, of 6 acr. and 3 roods of land, with appurts., in Eleham. Thomas and Alice admit it to be the Right of Geoffrey; and, for themselves and the heirs of Alice, remit and quit-claim to him and to his heirs, and receive for the remission etc. 10*l.*

278. At Rochester, Octave of St. Martin A° 7—Betw. John, son of William le ffrenkisshebakere, of Canterbury, *plt.*, and Alan de Durham, of Canterbury, and Cristina his wife, and Thomas son of said Cristina, *defts.*, of 1 mess., 9 acr. and 3 roods of land, 6d. rent, and rent of 1 cock and 1 hen, with appurts., in Chertham. Alan, Cristina and Thomas admit it to be the Right of John; and, for themselves and the heirs of Alan, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 10*l.* for the concession.

279. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Andrew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. John Malemeyns, of Ho, *plt.*, and John de Stokynghamme and Juliana his wife *defts.*, of 3½ acr. and the third part of 1 acr. of land, with appurts., in Roluendenne. John and Juliana admit it to be the Right of John Malemeyns; and, for themselves and the heirs of Juliana, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 10 *marks* for the concession.

280. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Thomas, son of William ffelip, of Lymene, and Juliana his wife *plts.*, and William de Kyngesfeld', of Mersham, *deft.*, of 1 mess., 6 acr. and 3 roods of land, 1½ acr. mead., and a moiety of 1 acr. of wood, with appurts., in Mersham and Wyuelesbergh'. Right of William, who, for the admission, grants (by service of a rose at Nativity of St. John Baptist) to Thomas and Juliana and to his heirs by her; but if none, then after their deaths to revert to William and to his heirs quit of other heirs of Thomas and Juliana.

281. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Robert Dod and Thomas his son *plts.*, and John le Heyward', of Ospring', and Agnes his wife *defts.*, of 3 acr. land, with appurts., in Ospring'. Right of Robert as that which he and Thomas have of the gift of John and Agnes to hold to them and to the heirs of Robert. John and Agnes receive for the admission etc. 100*s*.

282. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Henry Stoil, of Maydenestane, *plt.*, and Adam, son of Thomas le Byrich, of Maydenestane, *deft.*, of 1 mess., 1 garden, and 2 acr. land, with appurts., in Maydenestane, which Dionisia who was wife of Thomas Byrich holds in dower. Adam admits it to be the Right of Henry; and, for himself and his heirs, grants that the aforesaid tenements which Dionisia held in dower of the inheritance of Adam the day this agreement was made, and which after her death to him and to his heirs revert, shall after the death of Dionisia remain to Henry and to his heirs. Adam receives 10*l*. for the agreement, which was made in the presence of Dionisia, who thereupon acknowledged her fealty to Henry.

283. At Canterbury, Quinzaine of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. William Geruays *plt.*, and John Roket and Elena his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 12½ acr. land, 14*d*. rent, and a moiety of 1 acr. of mead., with appurts., in Bregg'. John and Elena admit it to be the Right of William; and, for themselves and the heirs of Elena, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 20 *marks* for the concession.

284. At Canterbury, Quinzaine of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Oliver de Chedestane *plt.*, and Alianora, who was wife of Edmund ffolyot, *deft.*, of 1 mess., and 40 acr. land, with appurts., in Esshele and Northburne. Alianora admits it to be the Right of Oliver; and, for herself and her heirs, grants to him and to his heirs, and receives 20 *marks* for the concession.

285. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Robert

de Chelesfeld' and Isabella his wife *plts.*, and Richard de Kenynton' and Mabilla his wife *defts.*, of 1 acr. land, with appurts., in the suburbs of Canterbury. Richard and Mabilla admit it to be the Right of Robert; and, for themselves and the heirs of Mabilla, grant to Robert and Isabella and to the heirs of Robert, and receive 40*s.* for the concession.

286. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Martin A° 7—Betw. Nicholas de Douorr', draper, *plt.*, and Henry de Chileham, moneyer, of Canterbury, and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of 4½ acr. land, with appurts., in the suburbs of Canterbury. Henry and Johanna admit it to be the Right of Nicholas; and, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 100*s.* for the concession.

287. At Canterbury, Octave of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Richard de Rokesle and Johanna his wife *plts.*, and William atte Denne and Sara his wife *defts.*, of 24*s.* rent, with appurts., in Cherryng'. William and Sara admit it to be the Right of Richard; and, for themselves and the heirs of Sara, grant to Richard and Johanna and to the heirs of Richard, and receive 20 *marks* for the concession.

288. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Martin A° 7—Betw. William Virgile, of Dover, and Leticia his wife *plts.*, and Robert de Swanton' and Dionisia his wife *defts.*, of 7 acr. land, 14 acr. past., the third part of one mess., 24*s.* rent, and rent of 6 cocks and 15 hens, with appurts., in Lymene and Saltwode. Robert and Dionisia admit it to be the Right of William; and, for themselves and the heirs of Dionisia, grant to William and Leticia and to the heirs of William, and receive 20*l.* for the concession.

289. At Canterbury, Octave of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Walter le Scryg' and Sara his wife *plts.*, and Robert, son of Robert de Sharsted', *deft.*, of 1 mess., and 300 acr. land, with appurts., in Dudynton', Lyndested', Tenham, Norton', Newenham, Ospreng', Kyngesdoune, Rodmersham, Tongg', and Bakechild'. Right of Robert, who, for the admission, grants to Walter and Sara and to his heir by her; but if none, then after their deaths to remain to the right heirs of Walter.

290. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Walter de Lyndested' *plt.*, and Thomas, son of Walter de Lyndested', and Alice, daughter of John de Thunderle, *defts.*, of 29 acr. and 1½ roods of land, 2 acr. wood, 10*s.* 6½*d.* rent, rent of 1 cock and 8 hens, pasturage for 15 sheep and 7 lambs, and a moiety of 1 mess., with appurts., in Lyndestede and Tenham. Walter

admits it to be the Right of Thomas; for which admission Thomas and Alice grant to him for life, he paying an annual rent of 50*s.* to them and to the heirs of Thomas. After the death of Walter to revert to Thomas and Alice and to the heirs of Thomas, quit of the heirs of Walter.

291. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. Robert Dod, of ffauersham, *plt.*, and Thomas, son of Robert Dod, *deft.*, of 48 acr. land, and 35*s.* rent, with appurts., in Osprenge, ffauersham, and Preston' next ffauersham. Right of Thomas, who, for the admission, grants (by service of a rose at Nativity of St. John Baptist) to Robert for life to hold of Thomas and his heirs. After the death of Robert to revert to Thomas and to his heirs.

292. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. William, son of Elias Paris, of Maydenestan, *plt.*, and Juliana, daughter of William atte Stighele, of Maydenstan, *deft.*, of 1 mess., 6 acr. land, and 1 rood of wood, with appurts., in Maydenestan. Juliana admits it to be the Right of William; and, for herself and her heirs, grants to him and to his heirs, and receives 10*l.* for the concession.

293. At Rochester, Octave of St. Martin A° 7—Betw. William Jakyn and Alice his wife *plts.*, and Richard le Deme (? should be "Denne"), of Werehorne, and Juliana his wife *defts.*, of 20 acr. land, with appurts., in Shatockesherst'. Richard and Juliana admit it to be the Right of William; and, for themselves and the heirs of Juliana, grant to William and Alice and to the heirs of William, and receive 10*l.* for the concession.

294. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. John atte Helle, of Icham (query whether Ickham or Ightham, is intended), and Alice his wife *plts.*, and Henry, son of William le Clerk', of Maydenstan, and Loretta his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 5 acr. land, and 30*d.* rent, with appurts., in Terstan'. Henry and Loretta admit it to be the Right of John; and, for themselves and the heirs of Loretta, grant to John and Alice and to the heirs of John, and receive 20 *marks* for the concession.

295. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. John ffarman, of Wroteham, and Henry, William, and Stephen, his brothers *plts.*, and Adam Bayli, of Maydestan, and Isabella his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., with appurts., in Maydestane. Adam and Isabella admit it to be the Right of John; and, for themselves and the heirs of Isabella, remit and quit-claim to John,

Henry, William, and Stephen, and to the heirs of John, and receive for the remission etc. 10 *marks*.

296. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7 —Betw. Richard, son of William de Haute, *plt.*, and John de Bosincompe and Margaret his wife, and Simon le Webbe, of Stelling', and Dionisia his wife *defts.*, of 6 acr. land, with appurts., in Waltham. John, Margaret, Simon and Dionisia admit it to be the Right of Richard; and, for themselves and the heirs of Margaret and Dionisia, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 10 *marks* for the concession.

297. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7 —Betw. Henry the Beste and Mabilla his wife *plts.*, and Philip de Pympe and Alice his wife *defts.*, of 14 acr. land, with appurts., in West Farleghe. Henry and Mabilla admit it to be the Right of Philip; and, for themselves and the heirs of Mabilla, remit and quit-claim to Philip and Alice and to the heirs of Philip, and receive for the remission etc. 100*s*.

298. At Rochester, Octave of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7— Betw. Brother Nicholas, Master of the House of God at Ospringe, *plt.*, and Elizabeth, daughter of William Nowel, *deft.*, of a moiety of 1 carucate of land, with appurts., in the Isle of Shepeye. Elizabeth admits it to be the Right of the said Master and his House aforesaid; and, for herself and her heirs grants to him and his successors and to his said House, and receives 100 *marks* for the concession.

299. At Rochester, Octave of St. Martin A° 7—Betw. Peter de Ros *plt.*, and Walter de Rokesle *deft.*, of 1 mess., 1 mill, 100 acr. land, 12 acr. mead., 30 acr. wood, and 40*s*. rent, with appurts., in Lullyngeston' next Eynesford'. Peter admits it to be the Right of Walter; and, for himself and his heirs, grants to him and to his heirs, and receives 100*l*. for the concession.

300. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. John atte Well' *plt.*, and Henry de Cobeham senior and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of 40 acr. land, with appurts., in Stureye and Hakynton'. Henry and Johanna admit it to be the right of John; and, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna, remit and quit-claim to him and to his heirs, and receive for the remission etc. 20*l*.

301. At Rochester, Morrow of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7 —Betw. Walter Reginaldi (by Harsculphus de Whytewell' in his stead) *plt.*, and Nicholas de Blyburgh' *deft.*, of 1 mess., 1 toft, 100 acr. land, 10 acr. mead., 12 acr. past., 6 acr. wood, 6 acr. ozier, and 6*s*. rent, with appurt., in Brumleye, Beghenham, and Hese.

Nicholas admits it to be the right of Walter; and, for himself and his heirs, grants to him and to his heirs, and receives 100 *marks* for the concession.

302. At Rochester, Morrow of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7 —Betw. Walter Reginaldi (by Harsculphus de Whytewell in his stead) *plt.*, and William de Depyng' and Ismannia his wife, and Richard de Dunleghe and Agnes his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 1 toft, 100 acr. land, 10 acr. mead., 12 acr. past., 6 acr. wood, 6 acr. ozier, and 6*s.* rent, with appurts., in Brumleye, Beghenham, and Hese. William, Ismannia, Richard and Agnes admit it to be the Right of Walter; and, for themselves and the heirs of Ismannia and Agnes, remit and quit-claim to him and to his heirs, and receive for the remission etc. 20*l.*

303. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7— Betw. Adomarus de Valencia Earl of Pembroke (by Laurence de Huntingfeld' in his stead) *plt.*, and Henry, son of Roger de Northwode, and Raulina who was the wife of Roger de Heghham, *defts.*, of the Manor of Edgarinton' in Godmeresham, with appurts., and rent of 29 quarters of barley, with appurts., in Wy, and Grundal (Crundale) next Wy. Henry and Raulina admit it to be the Right of the Earl; and, for themselves and their heirs, remit and quit-claim to him and to his heirs, and receive for the remission etc. 20*l.*

304. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. Elias de Mortuo Mari (*Mortimer*) and Johanna his wife *plts.*, and John de Mortuo Mari *deft.*, of 4 acr. marsh, with appurts., in Clyue next Rochester. Right of John, who, for the admission, grants to Elias and Johanna and to his heirs by her; but if none, then after their deaths to remain to the right heirs of Elias.

305. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7 —Betw. Master Thomas de Cherteham *plt.*, and Benedict de Shamelesford' and Ada his wife *defts.*, of 45 acr. land, with appurts., in Cherteham. Benedict and Ada admit it to be the Right of Thomas; and, for themselves and the heirs of Benedict, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 40 *marks* for the concession.

306. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7— Betw. Juliana, who was wife of William de Leyburn', and Fulk Payforer *plts.*, and Walter de Leghton' and Martin Erchebaud *defts.*, of the Manors of Dene and Westgate in the Isle of Thanet, with appurts. Juliana admits it to be the Right of Walter; for

which admission Walter and Martin grant to Juliana and Fulk and to the heirs of Juliana.

307. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7 —Betw. John de Campania and Margeria his wife *plts.*, and Walter Copyn and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of the fourth part of 3 mess., 100 acr. land, 1½ acr. mead, pasturage for 100 sheep, 1 acr. wood, and rent of 7 hens and 40 eggs, with appurts., in Dauynton', Morston', Lodenham and Stone, which Johanna who was the wife of Thomas Euerard holds for life. Walter and Johanna his wife admit it to be the Right of John; and, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna wife of Walter, grant that the said fourth part which Johanna who was wife of Thomas Euerard holds for life of the inheritance of Johanna wife of Walter, and which after the death of Johanna who was wife of Thomas Euerard to Walter and Johanna his wife reverts, shall after the death of Johanna who was wife of Thomas Euerard remain to John and Margeria and to the heirs of John. Walter and Johanna his wife receive 40*l.* for the concession. This agreement was made in the presence of said Johanna who was wife of Thomas Euerard, and she thereupon acknowledged her fealty to John and Margeria.

308. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7 —Betw. John de Campania and Margeria his wife *plts.*, and Margaret, daughter of Thomas Euerard *deft.*, of pasturage of 7 sheep, and the fourth part of 3 mess., 100 acr. land, 1½ acr. mead, 1 acr. wood, and rent of 7 hens and 40 eggs, with appurts., in Dauyngton', Morston', Ludenham, ffissheburn', and Stone, which Johanna who was the wife of Thomas Euerard holds for life. Margaret admits it to be the Right of John; and, for herself and her heirs, grants that the aforesaid tenements, with appurts., which aforesaid Johanna holds for life of the inheritance of Margaret, and which after the death of Johanna to Margaret and to her heirs reverts, shall after the death of Johanna remain to John and Margeria and to the heirs of John. Margaret receives 40 *marks* for the concession. And this agreement was made in the presence of Johanna, who thereupon acknowledged her fealty to John and Margeria.

309. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7— Betw. Juliana, who was the wife of William de Leyburne, and Henry de Leyburn', *plts.*, and Walter de Lecton', Parson of Leyburn', and Martin Harchebaud, Vicar of Preston', *defts.*, of the Manor of Elham, with appurts. Juliana admits it to be the Right

of Walter; for which admission Walter and Martin grant to Juliana and Henry and to the heirs of Juliana.

310. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Juliana, who was the wife of William de Leyburne, and Geoffrey de Say and Idonia his wife *plts.*, and Walter de Lecton' and Martin Erchebaud *defts.*, of the Manor of Preston' next Wyngham, with appurts. Juliana admits it to be the Right of Walter; for which admission Walter and Martin grant to Juliana, Geoffrey, and Idonia and to the heirs of Juliana.

311. At Canterbury, St. John Baptist in three weeks A° 7—Betw. Edmund de Passeleye *plt.*, and James Godefrey, of Wynchelese, and Lucia his wife *defts.*, of 67 acr. land, and 10*s.* rent, with appurts., in Middele and Old Romenal. James and Lucia admit it to be the Right of Edmund; and, for themselves and the heirs of Lucia, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 40*l.* for the concession.

312. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Walter Potekyn and Johanna his wife *plts.*, and Henry, Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury (by William de Derby in his stead), *deft.*, of the Manor of Terstane, with appurts. Walter and Johanna admit it to be the Right of said Prior and of his Church of Christ in Canterbury; and, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna, remit and quit-claim to him and to his successors in the said Church, and receive for the remission etc. 40*l.*

313. At Canterbury, Morrow of Souls A° 7—Betw. Thomas le Longe and Emma his wife *plts.*, and Robert de Shirelonde (whom Margaret, who was the wife of John de ffogheleston', calls to warrant) *deft.*, of 20 acr. land, 5 acr. wood, 2*s.* 6*d.* rent, and rent of 1 cock and 3 hens, with appurts., in Bradegare. Thomas and Emma admit it to be the Right of Robert; and, for themselves and the heirs of Emma, remit and quit-claim to him and to his heirs, and receive for the remission etc. 20*l.*

314. At Canterbury, Octave of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. William Louteriche *plt.*, and John, son of Richard de Senglyngge, and Alice his wife *defts.*, of 15½ acr. land, with appurts., in Aucrise next Branddrede. John and Alice admit it to be the Right of William; and, for themselves and the heirs of Alice, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 100*s.* for the concession.

315. At Canterbury, St. Michael in three weeks A° 7—Betw. Thomas de Bocton' and Boniface de Desconygton' *plts.*, and John, son of Adam Crux, and Felicia his wife *defts.*, of 6 acr. land, with appurts., in Tonge. Thomas admits it to be the Right of Felicia;

for which admission John and Felicia grant to Thomas for his life, with remainder after his death to Boniface and to his heirs, quit of the heirs of Thomas.

316. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Simon Potyn, of Rochester, *plt.*, and John Peuerel and Auicia his wife *defts.*, of 5½ acr. land, with appurts., in Rochester. John and Auicia admit it to be the Right of Simon; and, for themselves and the heirs of Auicia, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 10*l.* for the concession.

317. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Thomas, Bishop of Rochester (by Robert Malemeyns in his stead), *plt.*, and Robert le Vssher and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of 4 acr. mead, with appurts., in Hallyng'. Robert and Johanna admit it to be the Right of the said Bishop and of his Church of St. Andrew Rochester; and, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna, grant to him and to his successors in the said Church, and receive 10 *marks* for the concession.

318. At Rochester, Morrow of the Holy Trinity A° 7—Betw. Thomas Dod, of ffauersham, and Johanna his wife and John son of said Thomas *plts.*, and Robert Dod of ffauersham, and Simon de Chilton', Chaplain, *defts.*, of 1 mess., and 36 acr. land, with appurts., in ffauersham. Right of Robert; for which admission Robert and Simon grant to Thomas, Johanna, and John son of said Thomas, and to the heirs of said Thomas by Johanna. But if Thomas die without heirs by Johanna, then after the deaths of Thomas Johanna and John to remain to the right heirs of Johanna.

319. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Martin A° 7—Betw. William son of Simon le ffeure, of Smethe, *plt.*, and Richard atte Pette and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of 14 acr. land, 1 acr. mead., 3 roods past., 1½ acr. wood, and 8*d.* rent, with appurts., in Westwelles and Bocton' Alulphi. Richard and Johanna admit it to be the Right of William; and, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 20 *marks* for the concession.

320. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. Thomas, son of Richard le Bakere, *plt.*, and Richard le Bakere and Alice his wife *defts.*, of 3 mess., 1 shop, 11½ acr. land, 1 rood mead., and 1 rood wood, with appurts., in Maydenstan. Right of Thomas, who, for the admission grants (by service of a rose at Nativity of St. John Baptist) to Richard and Alice for their lives. After their deaths to revert to Thomas and to his heirs, quit of the heirs of Richard and Alice.

321. At Canterbury, Morrow of Souls A° 7—Betw. John Vnderdoune, *plt.*, and John Cheleys and Isabella his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., and 4 acr. land, with appurts., in Herne and Reculure. Right of Isabella; for which admission John and Isabella, for themselves and the heirs of Isabella, grant to John Vnderdoune and to his heirs.

322. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. John atte Welle *plt.*, and William de Coundyishalle, of Wystaple, *deft.*, of 1 mess., 250 acr. land, 70 acr. wood, 21*s.* rent, and rent of 17 hens, with appurts., in Wystapele, Swalcliue, and Sesaltre. Right of John, who, for the admission, grants to William and the heirs male of his body, to hold of John and his heirs by service of a rose at Nativity of St. John Baptist. If William die without heirs male of his body, then after his death to revert to John and to his heirs, quit of other heirs of William.

323. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Geoffrey, son of Robert de la Chapele, *plt.*, and Alice, who was the wife of Robert de la Chapele, *deft.*, of 1 mess., and 12 acr. land, with appurts., in Iuecherche. Right of Geoffrey, who, for the admission, grants (by service of a rose at Nativity of St. John Baptist) to Alice for her life. After her death to revert to Geoffrey and to his heirs, quit of the heirs of Alice.

324. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. John de Bomylond' *plt.*, and John atte Bregge and Godeleua his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., and 12 acr. land, with appurts., in Bettresdenne. John and Godeleua admit it to be the Right of John de Bomylond'; and, for themselves and the heirs of Godeleua, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 10*l.* for the concession.

325. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Matthew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Richard de Omyndenn' *plt.*, and Margeria, who was the wife of Walter de Bettenhamme, *deft.*, of 1 mess., and 40 acr. land, with appurts., in Bydyndenn'. Right of Richard, who, for the admission, grants to Margeria for her life. After her death to remain to Richard son of Walter de Bettenhamme and to his heirs.

326. At Canterbury, Morrow of Souls A° 7—Betw. William atte Denne and Sara his wife and Walter his son *plts.*, and John Peuerel and Auicia his wife *defts.*, of 27 acr. wood, 27*s.* 10½*d.* rent, and rent of 41 hens, 8 cocks and 370 eggs, with appurts., in Sellyng' next Bocton'. John and Auicia admit it to be the Right of William; and, for themselves and the heirs of John, grant to William Sara and Walter and to the heirs of the body of Walter; but if none,

then after the deaths of William Sara and Walter to remain to the right heirs of William.

327. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Andrew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Ralph, Abbot of the Church of the Apostles St. Peter and Paul, St. Augustine's, Canterbury (by John Prikett in his stead), *plt.*, and Thomas Poucyn and Margeria his wife *defts.*, of 17 acr. and 3 roods land, and 6 acr. past., with appurts., in Menstre in the Isle of Thanet. Thomas and Margeria admit it to be the Right of the said Abbot and his Church; and, for themselves and the heirs of Margeria, grant to him and to his successors in the said Church, and receive 20*l.* for the concession.

328. At Canterbury, Morrow of Souls A° 7—Betw. John, son of John de Beltyngg' senior, *plt.*, and Elias de Lamb and Sara his wife *defts.*, of 4½ acr. land, and the third part of 1 acr. of mead., with appurts., in Godmersham. Elias and Sara admit it to be the Right of John; and, for themselves and the heirs of Sara, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 100*s.* for the concession.

329. At Canterbury, St. Michael in three weeks A° 7—Betw. John de Berdefeld' and Isabella his wife *plts.*, and Adam Wastechar *deft.*, of 11 acr. land, and 3 acr. mead., with appurts., in Newecherche and Seinte Marie cherche. John and Isabella admit it to be the Right of Adam; and, for themselves and the heirs of Isabella, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 20 *marks* for the concession.

330. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. Richard le Walshe and Margeria his wife *plts.*, and William de Ore and Juliana his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., and 125 acr. land, with appurts., in Merdenne. Richard and Margeria admit it to be the Right of Juliana; and, for themselves and the heirs of Margeria, grant to William and Juliana and to the heirs of Juliana, and receive 10*l.* for the concession.

331. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Nicholas, Bishop, A° 7—Betw. John atte Stokke, of Westerham, and Alice his wife *plts.*, and Walter de ffynchingfeld' and Richard, son of Alan Partrich', *defts.*, of 1 mess., 21 acr. land, 4 acr. and 1 rood mead., 12½ acr. wood, 4*s.* rent, and rent of 2 hens, with appurts., in Westerham, Ditton', Eylesford', and Estmalling'. Right of Walter; for which admission Walter and Richard grant to John and Alice and to his heirs by her; but if none, then after their deaths to remain to the right heirs of John.

332. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Margaret, Virgin, A° 7—

Betw. Thomas Edward, of Sandwich, *plt.*, and John de Sheluyng' and Benedicta his wife *defts.*, of 2 mess., 100 acr. land, 10 acr. mead., 35 acr. past., 18 acr. wood, 4*l.* 11*s.* rent, and rent of 2 cocks, 11 hens and 70 eggs, with appurts., in Bysshopesborne, Well', Thrulegh', and Canterbury. Right of Thomas, who, for the admission, grants to John and Benedicta and to his heirs by her; but if none, then after their deaths to remain to the right heirs of Benedicta.

333. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Martin A° 7—Betw. Robert de Hauuill' and Margeria his wife *plts.*, and Richard de Esthalle and Margaret his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 1 mill, 4 carucates of land, 13 acr. mead., 60 acr. wood, 10*l.* rent, and rent of 120 hens and 400 eggs, with appurts., in Esthalle, St. Mary Craye, Orpinton', Doune, Codeham, Okholte, Hese, ffarnbergh', Putham, and ffrenyngham. Right of Richard; for which admission Richard and Margaret grant to Robert and Margeria and to his heirs by her, they paying to Richard and Margaret for their lives 20 *marks* per annum, and thereafter holding of the heirs of Richard by service of a rose at Nativity of St. John Baptist. If Robert die without heirs by Margeria, then after their deaths to revert to Richard and Margaret and to the heirs of Richard, quit of other heirs of Robert and Margeria.

Endorsed:—"John de Ifelde and Margeria his wife assert their claim."

334. At Westminster, Quinzaine of St. Martin A° 7—Betw. Bartholomew de Badelesmere *plt.*, and Thomas le fiz Bernard' *deft.*, of the Manors of Tonge and Sibeton', with appurts., and the advowson of the Churches of said Manors. Thomas admits the advowsons and two parts of said Manors to be the Right of Bartholomew. And afterwards, for himself and his heirs, he grants that the third part of the Manors, which Agatha who was wife of Ralph le fiz Bernard holds in dower of the inheritance of said Thomas, and which after her death to him and to his heirs reverts, shall after the death of Agatha remain to Bartholomew and to his heirs. And Thomas, for himself and his heirs, warrants the said Manor and advowsons to Bartholomew and to his heirs, and receives for the concession etc. 20*l.* This agreement was made in the presence of Agatha, who thereupon acknowledged her fealty to Bartholomew.

335. At Westminster, St. Michael in one month A° 7—Betw. Roger le Palmere, of London, *plt.*, and Peter Bywynd, of Leuesham, and Willelma his wife *defts.*, of 5 acr. land, with appurts., in Leue-

sham. Peter and Willelma admit it to be the Right of Roger; and, for themselves and the heirs of Willelma, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 40*s.* for the concession.

336. At Westminster, Octave of St. Hilary A° 7—Betw. the Prior of Rochester* *plt.*, and Reymund, son of John de Lincoln, and Lucia his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 14 acr. land, and 80 acr. marsh, with appurts., in Stokes. Reymund and Lucia admit it to be the Right of said Prior and his Church of St. Andrew, Rochester; and, for themselves and the heirs of Lucia, grant to him and to his successors, and receive for the admission etc. 60*l.*

337. At Westminster, Morrow of St. John Baptist A° 7—Betw. John Abel and Margeria his wife and Walter their son (by Henry Trailly in place of said Margeria, and, as his guardian, in the stead of Walter) *plts.*, and Roger de Rokesle junior *deft.*, of the Manor of ffotescreye, with appurts., and 60 acr. land, with appurts., in Chisulhurst', Paulynescreye, Rokesle, Northcreye, Byxle, and Eltham. Roger admits it to be the Right of Walter; and, for himself and his heirs, remits and quit-claims to John and Margeria and Walter and to the heirs of Walter, and receives for the remission etc. a sparrow-hawk.

338. At Westminster, Octave of the Holy Trinity A° 7—Betw. Richard, son of James de Honeberghe, and Isabella his wife *plts.*, and John de Nassinton', and Sara his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 43 acr. land, and 1 acr. wood, with appurts., in Stone next Derteford'. John and Sara admit it to be the Right of Richard; and, for themselves and the heirs of Sara, grant to Richard and Isabella and to the heirs of Richard, and receive a sparrow-hawk for the concession.

* John de Grenestrete. He succeeded Thomas de Shelford in 1301 (Edmund de Hadenham's *History of the Church of Rochester*), was succeeded by the renowned Hamo de Hethe (*i.e.* Hythe) in 1314 (William de Dene's *History of the Church of Rochester*), and was probably a kinsman of, if not brother to, that Richard de Grenestrete, of Bromheye, who mentions in his Deed his brother Robert (? "Robertus de Grenstrete," of Tenham Hundred, A° 1 Edw. III.—Public Record Office, Lay Subsidies, Kent N° $\frac{123}{10}$, membrane 23). Said Richard de Grenestrete was one of the barons of the Cinque Ports in respect of Romney (see same record, under the Hundred of Langport, on the dorse of membrane 20), and was a benefactor to the Church of Rochester (*vide* Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*). His descendants still held property in the vicinity of Romney as late as the reign of Edward IV. At the Principal Registry of the Court of Probate ("Wattis," 38) is a long Will (proved 17 June 1480) of William Grenestrete, of Rye (presumably a merchant of that place, then noted for its trade), who leaves to his son and heir, Thomas, his lands in Rye, co. Sussex, and at Old Romney and Ivychurch, co. Kent. The earliest mention of this family, that I am acquainted with, is in A° 56 Hen. III. (Public Record Office, Feet of Fines, Kent, N° 1160 of that king), when William de Grenestrete ("son of William de Grenestrete") and Matilda his wife granted certain property in North Darenth to the Prior of Rochester.

339. At Westminster, Octave of St. John Baptist A° 7—Betw. William de Burstowe, clerk, *plt.*, and John Sprot and Matilda his wife *defts.*, of 5 acr. and 3 roods of land, with appurts., in Plumstede. John and Matilda admit it to be the Right of William; and, for themselves and the heirs of Matilda, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive a sparrow-hawk for the concession.

340. At Westminster, Morrow of St. John Baptist A° 7—Betw. John de Emondesham and Rosa his wife *plts.*, and Simon Passemer and Matilda his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., and 50 acr. land, with appurts., in Hertleye. Simon and Matilda admit it to be the Right of Rosa; and, for themselves and the heirs of Simon, grant to John and Rosa and to the heirs of Rosa, and receive a sparrow-hawk for the concession.

341. At Westminster, Octave of the Holy Trinity A° 7—Betw. Henry de Hammyngherst and Matilda his wife *plts.*, and John de Hammyngherst *deft.*, of 2 mess., 39 acr. land, 4 acr. past., 2*s.* rent, and rent of 2 cocks and 4 hens, with appurts., in Wyuelesberghe, Seyueton', and Hengselle. Right of John, who, for the admission, grants to Henry and Matilda and to his heirs by her; but if none, then after their deaths to remain to the right heirs of Henry.

342. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Andrew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Nicholas de Cryel and Roesia his wife *plts.*, and Gilbert de Cryel *deft.*, of the Manor of Walemere, with appurts. Right of Gilbert, who, for the admission, grants to Nicholas and Roesia and to the heirs of Nicholas.

343. At Rochester, Morrow of St. Andrew the Apostle A° 7—Betw. Matilda le Mareschale *plt.*, and Andrew le Treour (whom Walter de Bughurst' calls to warrant) *deft.*, of 27 acr. and 1½ roods of land, 16*d.* rent, and rent of 2 hens, with appurts., in Leyburn', Lodesdon', and Berlyng'. Upon which an assize of *mort d'ancestor* was summoned between them. Matilda admits it to be the Right of Andrew; and, for herself and her heirs, remits and quit-claims to him and to his heirs, and receives for the remission etc. 10*l.*

344. At Rochester, Morrow of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. Adam le Tauerner, of Sydyngeburne, *plt.*, and Adam de la Gare and Alianora his wife *defts.*, of 2½ acr. land, with appurts., in Bakechilde. Adam and Alianora admit it to be the Right of Adam le Tauerner; and, for themselves and the heirs of Adam de la Gare, grant to Adam le Tauerner and to his heirs, and to receive 10 *marks* for the concession.

345. At Rochester, Octave of St. Martin A° 7—Betw. Adam de Swanton' *plt.*, and William de Craye and Margeria his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 170 acr. land, 5 acr. mead., 20 acr. past., 10 acr. wood, and 10*s.* rent, with appurts., in Paulynescraye. Right of Adam, who, for the admission, grants to William and Margeria and to the heirs of William.

346. At Canterbury, St. Michael in one month A° 7—Betw. William de Steueghindenne and Adam, son of Adam de Steueghindenne, *plts.*, and Thomas le Whyte and Agatha his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., 2½ acr. land, and 10 acr. wood, with appurts., in Benyndenne. Thomas and Agatha admit it to be the Right of William; and, for themselves and the heirs of Agatha, grant to William and Adam and to the heirs of William, and receive 20*l.* for the concession.

347. At Canterbury, Morrow of Souls A° 7—Betw. Reginald le Mareschal and Stephen his brother *plts.*, and John Peter and Isabella his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., and four parts of 2 mess., with appurts., in the suburbs of Canterbury. John and Isabella admit it to be the Right of Reginald, as that which he and Stephen receive in Court to hold to them and to the heirs of Reginald. John and Isabella receive for the admission etc. 10*l.*

348. At Canterbury, Quinzaine of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Robert de Bosworthe and Emma his wife, and Emma daughter of said Robert, *plts.*, and John de Ore and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of 3½ acr. land, with appurts., in Wotringbury. John and Johanna admit it to be the Right of Emma daughter of Robert; and, for themselves and the heirs of John, grant to Robert, Emma his wife, and Emma daughter of Robert and to the heirs of Emma daughter of Robert, and receive 100*s.* for the concession.

349. At Canterbury, Morrow of Souls A° 7—Betw. Robert Jordan and Cecilia his wife, and Thomas de Northbynne and Sabina his wife, *plts.*, and Adam Hurel *deft.*, of 5 shops, with appurts., in Canterbury. The plaintiffs admit it to be the Right of Adam; and, for themselves and the heirs of Cecilia and Sabina, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 100*s.* for the concession.

350. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Nicholas de Douor', draper, *plt.*, and John de Bisshopesgate senior and Constance his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., with appurts., in Canterbury. John and Constance admit it to be the Right of Nicholas; and, for themselves and the heirs of John, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 100*s.* for the concession.

351. At Canterbury, Morrow of St. Michael A° 7—Betw. Simon Bartelmeu and Cecilia his wife *plts.*, and William de Hoo and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., with appurts., in the suburbs of Canterbury. William and Johanna admit it to be the Right of Simon; and, for themselves and the heirs of William, grant to Simon and Cecilia and to the heirs of Simon, and receive 10*l.* for the concession.

352. At Rochester, Morrow of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. William de Welles, Vicar of the Church of Akynton', *plt.*, and Stephen Louet and Katerina his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., and 6½ acr. land, with appurts., in Icham next Litleburn'. Right of William, who, for the admission, grants to Stephen and Katerina for their lives. After their deaths to remain to Stephen, son of aforesaid Stephen, and to Philip his brother, and to the heirs of the body of Stephen brother of Philip; but if none, then after the death of Stephen, son of Stephen, and Philip to remain to the right heirs of Philip.

353. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. Gilbert Geldewyne, of Rochester, *plt.*, and Robert Lambard and Johanna his wife *defts.*, of 1 mess., and 3 acr. land, with appurts., in Strode. Robert and Johanna admit it to be the Right of Gilbert; and, for themselves and the heirs of Johanna, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 10*l.* for the concession.

354. At Rochester, Octave of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. Richard de Bromfeld' and Amicia his wife *plts.*, and John de Horton' *deft.*, of 1 mess., 80 acr. land, and 12 acr. pasture, with appurts., in Menstre in Shepeye. Whereupon an assize of *mort d'ancestor* was summoned between them. Richard and Amicia admit it to be the Right of John; and, for themselves and the heirs of Amicia, grant to him and to his heirs, and receive 10*l.* for the concession.

355. At Rochester, Morrow of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. John Sterre *plt.*, and John le Mareschale *deft.*, of a moiety of 1 mess., and 36 acr. land, with appurts., in Plumstede. John le M. admits it to be the Right of John S.; and, for himself and his heirs, grants to him and to his heirs, and receive 20 *marks* for the concession.

356. At Rochester, Morrow of the Purification of B. Virgin A° 7—Betw. Nicholas de Lose and Mariota his wife *plts.*, and Walter Colyn, of Maydenstane, and Cecilia his wife *defts.*, of 5 mess., 2 shops, 70 acr. land, 1 acr. mead., 6 acr. wood, and 40*s.* rent, with

appurts., in Maydenstane and Estfarlegh'. Right of Nicholas; f which admission Nicholas and Mariota grant to Walter and Ceci for their lives, by service of a rose at Nativity of St. John Bapti After their deaths to revert to Nicholas and Mariota and to t heirs of Nicholas, quit of the heirs of Walter and Cecilia.

357. At Rochester, Morrow of the Purification of B. Virg A° 7—Betw. Gilbert de Smythelle *plt.*, and Robert Heyn and Cecil his wife *defts.*, of 2 acr. land, with appurts., in Westfarlegh Robert and Cecilia admit it to be the Right of Gilbert; and, f themselves and the heirs of Cecilia, grant to him and to his heir and receive 6 *marks* for the concession.

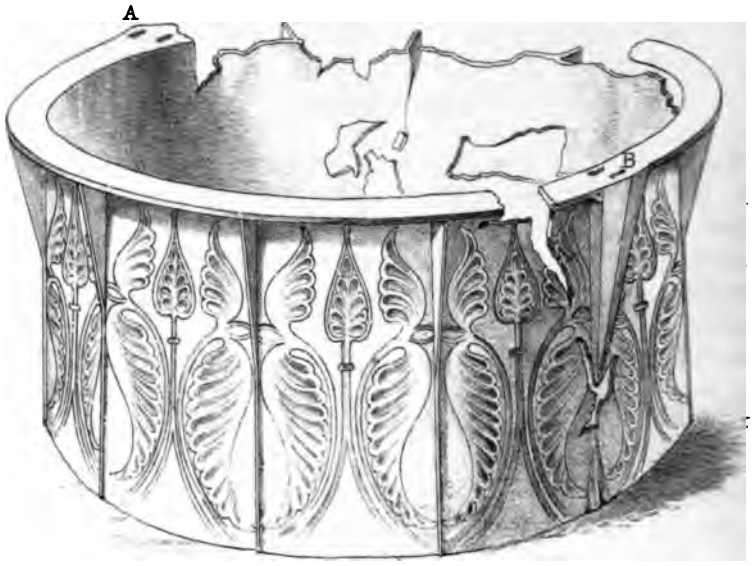


Fig. 1.

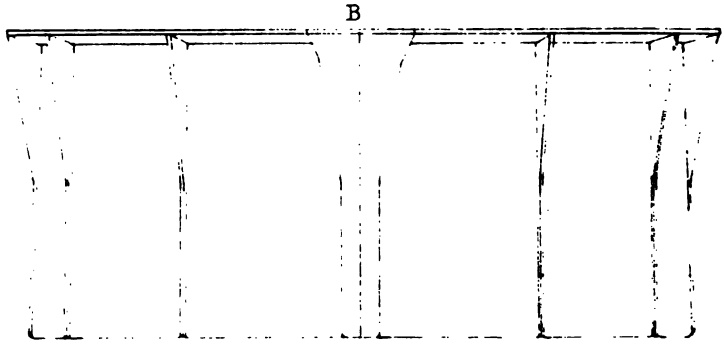


Fig. 2.

E. A. Bernays del.

VESSEL OF PEWTER, OR OF LEAD, DREDGED UP FROM THE BED OF THE RIVER MEDWAY, AT ROCHESTER, OFF GAS-HOUSE POINT, IN 1878.

Thos. Kell, Lithographer
40, King St. Covent Garden

A LEADEN VESSEL FOUND IN THE MEDWAY.

From a drawing made by the possessor of this vessel, Mr. E. A. Bernays, of Chatham Dockyard, who courteously placed it at our disposal, the annexed plate has been prepared. It represents a circular leaden vessel, found in the Medway, the inside of which is 11½ inches in diameter, and 5½ inches deep. A rim, half-an-inch wide, surrounds the mouth or upper portion. This rim evidently played an important part in the use of the vessel, as it is supported by flanges, twelve in number, which are affixed to the exterior of the vessel. These flanges are, at their summits, as wide as the rim, but they gradually taper downwards to a point. At each of two, opposite, points in the rim, there are two flanges which meet at right angles, thus strengthening the rim, to give holdfast to an arched handle, of iron, which was inserted at those points. The spaces between the flanges are all decorated in low relief with an ornament, of graceful foliage. The vessel now weighs 14 lbs., but was formerly much heavier. The bottom seems to be a circular plate soldered, around the edge, inside the vessel. Some think that, in this, it resembles work of the sixteenth century.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, at whose suggestion Mr. Bernays gave us the drawing, thinks that this vessel is not of Roman workmanship, but that it may be of early mediæval date. He possesses a drawing made from a somewhat similar leaden vessel found at Felixstowe, which he ascribes to the tenth century, or earlier. It had lost its rim, but seems to have retained some traces of two or three flanges. It was 6 inches high, 31 inches in circumference, and had an iron handle. There were but four ornaments upon its exterior, each of which represented a stiff-stalked plant with leaves and flowers at its base, having also two branches, each, like the central stem, ending in three leaves.

WILLIAM DE WROTHAM,

LORD WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS.

THE various historians of Kent have all failed to furnish any particulars respecting the family of De Wrotham, although they mention the fact that one of its scions was Constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, in the reign of King John. This omission is the more remarkable because Collinson, in the *History of Somersetshire*,* has printed an interesting description of his descendants, and several facts respecting William de Wrotham himself. Further information I have gleaned from the Public Records.

Geffrey de Wrotham, father of the Lord Warden, was attached to the household of successive Archbishops of Canterbury, who possessed a residence at Wrotham. He is said to have lived during the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. One of the Archbishops, whom he served, gave him a small estate at Radenville, or Rodenhall, in Wrotham, and upon it he resided. His son William is said, likewise, to have served Archbishop Hubert Walter, but we first hear of him in connection with Devonshire and Somersetshire. The Black Book of the Exchequer records his tenure of the office of Warden of the Stannaries, in Devon and Cornwall, during the 9th year of Richard I (1197–98).† In the following year the Crown granted to him the manor of Cathanger in Fivehead, and the bailiwick of North Petherton, both in Somersetshire. When King John ascended the throne William de Wrotham became Sheriff of Devonshire and Warden of the Stannaries, during the first year of that King's reign. He was likewise elected Forester of Dorset and Somerset.

* Vol. iii., p. 63 *et seq.*

† *Lib. Nig. Scac.*, i., 360.

Among the Kent Fines for the fourth year of King John, there is one dated 20th of April, 1203, by which Hugh, abbot of Ghent, acknowledges to William de Wrotham (for the free service of two marks per annum) three yokes of land, in Sudacholt (Knockholt), belonging to Sutton-at-Hone. The abuttals mentioned shew that this land was about eight or nine miles from Wrotham Church, and that it was bounded by Hackstaple, Swanley, and Petham Court. The exact boundary, on the west, seems to have run "from Cobbe-sole, along the path between the land of Sudacholt and the land of Orpinton, as far as Kenteleshethe, thence to Dikenhethe, and so to Hackstaple."* In addition to the three yokes, other parcels of land in Sutton-at-Hone are included in the Fine. These were Swonesland, Sarichescroft, Kentingescroft, two crofts called Smalhachesland, two others called Wlfputtes, and a curtilage near Dikenhathe. The Earl of St. Paul and his heirs claimed a rent of 20s. per annum from the lands mentioned in this Fine; it was therefore stipulated that if they succeeded in establishing their claim, William de Wrotham was to pay that rent to them. Two years later, we find, upon the Close Roll for 6 John, that the King conceded to William de Wrotham "100 solidatos"† of land in Sutton, in Kent, which had lately belonged to Richard Bacon.

King John in his fourth year granted to him Newton Park, in North Petherton, Somerset, and lands in other parishes to be held in fee by the serjeantry of being the king's Forester in Dorset, Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall.‡

When William de Wrotham was appointed Lieutenant§ of Dover Castle I have not been able to discover. He ultimately became Constable of the Castle and Lord Warden, but it seems to be uncertain during what year of King John's reign he was called to these high offices. Collinson says that it was in the 9th year of John, but he likewise states that in the same year he was Sheriff of Kent, and so far as

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. III., p. 235.
† *Close Roll* 6 John, membrane 9. No. 74, *Calendar Rot. Pat.*, p. 8b.
‡ Collinson, *Hist. of Somersetshire*, iii. 64.
§ Knocker's *Grand Court of Shepway*, Appendix, p. 106.

I can learn, this statement is not accurate. Possibly he may have acted as assistant to Reginald de Cornhill in that office; and this idea is rendered somewhat probable by the fact that William de Wrotham's wife was Maud de Cornhill.

His elder son William was Archdeacon of Taunton during the reign of King John, and died in the 3rd year of Henry III. Of the second son Richard we know, only, that he left one son, Richard, and four daughters, and probably died about 1224. The son is mentioned, on the Patent Roll of 9 Henry III,* as receiving seisin of the Forester's office for Somersetshire, and likewise of Newton Park, as his right. He died without issue in 1250 seised *inter alia* of land worth 46s. 8d. per annum in the ville of Hegheland in Kent, which he held of the Archbishop of Canterbury.† His widow Cecilia is mentioned on the Fine Roll 35 Hen. III m. 13.‡ His heirs were his two surviving sisters, and the sons of his two deceased sisters. King Henry III accordingly received the homage of John Blund, and Thomas Picot, husbands of the surviving sisters, and of William Plessiz and Geffrey Scolond, sons of the deceased sisters. The record of this event is attested at Woodstock, 6th February 35 Hen. III.§

William Plessiz, or de Plessetis, eldest son of Muriel de Wrotham by Hugh de Plessetis, inherited his uncle's Somersetshire possessions, as Forester of the County and custodian of Newton Park.‖ He was thirty years old in December 1250,¶ and he died in the 4th year of Edward I. His younger brother Richard, third son of Muriel, possessed his uncle's lands in Wrotham and Ford in Kent. Ultimately he assumed his uncle's name, and, as Richard de Wrotham he in the 10th year of Edward I had release, from Emma de Mallinges, of lands at Rodenhall in Wrotham.** He was of Enfield and Edmonton in Middlesex, and married a daughter of Berenger le Romeyn. In his will, dated 1292,

* Part 2, memb. 2, no. 2, *Cal. Rot. Pat.*, p. 13.
† *Archæologia Cantiana*, II, 302. ‡ *Ibidem*, II, 322.
§ *Fine Roll*, 35 H. III, memb. 6. *Arch. Cantiana*, II, 321.
‖ *Rot. Pat.* 35 Hen. III, memb. 8.
¶ *Inq. p. mortem*, 35 H. III, No. 47.
** Collinson, *Hist. of Somersetshire*, iii. 65.

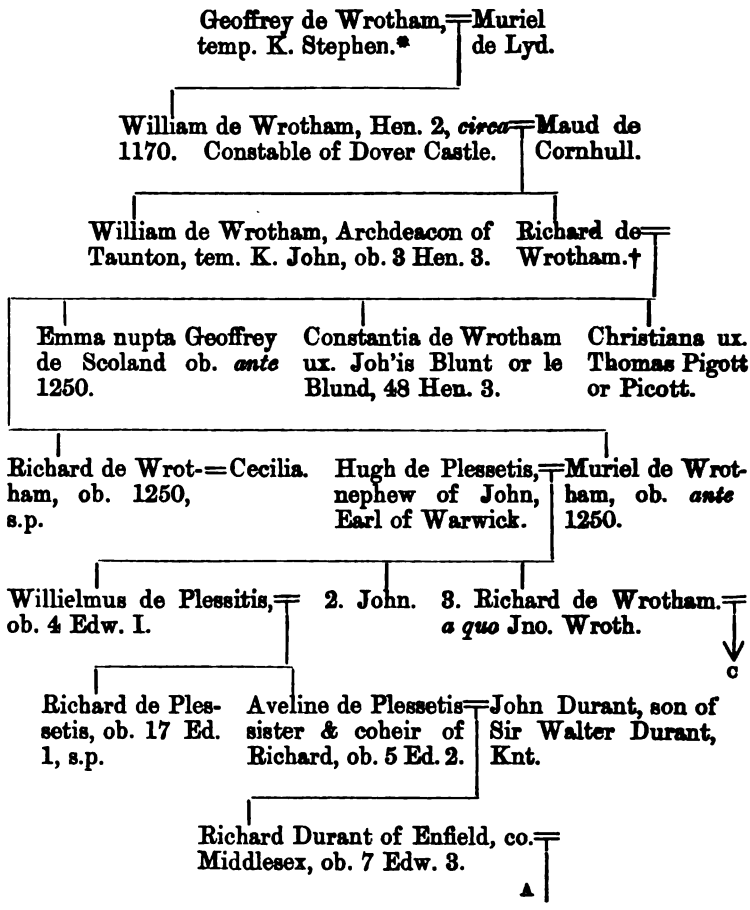
he desired to be buried as near as possible to his wife Gladyna, in the chapel built by her brother, Berenger le Romeyn, within the parish church of Edelmetone. His sons were John, Richard, and William. John was Prior of the Friars Preachers, and envoy from Edward I and II to the Court of Rome; he died at Bolonia in 1323. Richard was of Sheperton, and it seems that his grandson William Wrothe, son of Richard Wrothe of Sheperton, succeeded to his lands. As William Wrothe died without issue, his brother John, of Enfield and of North Petherton, was his heir. This John Wrothe died temp. Ed. III possessed of lands at "Yeldam" in or near Wrotham. Correcting Collinson's account by that of Lysons, we should say that his eldest son John having married twice, died in 20 Richard II. By his first wife he had one son, and a daughter named Agnes. She married Sir Pain Tibetot*, and through her the Kentish property fell, it is said, to John, Lord Tiptot. The second wife, of John Wrothe, was Maud (*i.e.* Matilda) sole daughter and heir of Thomas Durant, widow of Sir Baldwin de Radington.

Having thus traced the descent of De Wrotham's Kentish possessions, through the younger son of Muriel de Wrotham to the heirs of John Wroth by his first wife, we return to notice a remarkable fact respecting the second wife of the said John Wroth. She was a descendant of Muriel's elder son William de Plessetis, so that the issue of this second marriage, united the blood of two sons of Muriel de Wrotham (William de Plessetis, and Richard de Wrotham).

By a singular coincidence, a descendant of John Wroth by his second marriage became, thirty-three years ago, Rector of the parish of Wrotham. To that circumstance we are indebted for the following elucidation of the descendants of John Wroth and Maud Durant, whose union mingled the blood of Muriel de Wrotham's two sons. Canon Lane, who is Rector of Wrotham, found among his papers a record of certain legal proceedings, from which he has transcribed the following particulars. The pedigree has been verified, and amended, by his son, Mr. Henry Murray Lane, who holds the position of *Chester Herald* in the College of Arms.

* Dugdale's *Baronage of England*, ii. 40.

In the year 1786 a suit in Chancery was commenced by William Henry Earl of Rochford, and John Lane, Esq., *Plaintiffs*, against Sir John Dashwood King, Bart., the Baroness Le Despencer, Sir Richard Sutton, Bart., and others, *Defendants*, to dispossess them of estates at Enfield, in Middlesex, which the Plaintiffs claimed as heirs of the Sisters Mary and Jane Wroth. The subjoined pedigree was submitted to the Court, and judgment was given in favour of the *Plaintiffs*.



* Collinson's *Hist. Somersetsh.*, vol. iii., 63.
† Philp', 32, p. 86; MSS. in Coll. Arms.

A

Thomas Durant of Enfield, co. Middlesex, ob. 28 Edw. 3.

Matilda da. & heir, æt. 12 23 Ed. 3,* second wife. — Sir John Wroth, Kt. ob. 20 Ric. 2. — Alice.

William Wroth of Enfield, ob. 9 Hen. 4. — John. — Margaret Willinton. — Agnes. — Sir Pain Tibetot.

William Wroth, ob. 28 Hen. 6. — Averia, dau. of John Mortimer.

John Wroth, ob. 20 Edw. 4. — Eliza d. of Sir Roger Lewkenor.

John Wroth, ob. at Enfield, 9 Hen. 8. — Johanna, da. of . . . Newdegate.

Robert Wroth of Durants in Enfield, co. Middlesex, ob. 27 Hen. 8.† — Jane, da. of Sir Thos. Hawte, Knt. — Edward.

Sir Thomas Wroth of Durants, Knt., Chief Gent. of the Bedchamber to K. Edw. 6, ob. 9 Oct. 1573. — Mary, da. of Richard Lord Rich, Chancellor of England. — Oliver. — John. — William.

Sir Robert Wroth of Durants, Knt. ob. 26 Jan. 1605–6. — Susan, da. and sole heir of Sir Francis Stoner of Loughton, co. Essex.

Henry Wroth, Esq. of Woodbury, co. Herts, and of Durants in Enfield, co. Middx. Will dated 5 Feb. 1652, pr. 8 Dec. 1656. — Jane, da. of Sir Thomas Harris of Walden, ob. 1653.

Sir Henry Wroth of Durants, co. Middlesex, Knt. Buried at Enfield 26 Sep. 1671. — Hon. Anne Maynard, da. of Willm Lord Maynard. Buried at Enfield 2 Nov. 1667.

B

* Vincent's *Visit. Rutland*, Coll. Arms, p. 100.
† Vincent's *Visit. Herts*, Coll. Arms, p. 168.

B

Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Henry and sister of Major General Robert Wroth, whose issue became extinct in 1770. = Humphrey Wyrley, Esq., of Hamstead, co. Stafford, buried at Handsworth 27 June, 1710.

Mary, eldest da. & coheir, marr. April 30, 1702. Buried at Wolverhampton 10 April, 1729. = John Lane, Esq., of Bentley Hall, co. Stafford, born 12 Dec. 1669, buried 25 Oct. 1748 at Wolverhampton.

Thomas Lane, Esq., of Bentley Hall, buried 25 Jan. 1775, at Handsworth. = Anne Austen, 1st wife. Buried at Wolverhampton, 2 Sep. 1734.

John Lane, Esq., of Bentley Hall, died June 28, 1782. = Sarah, dau. and coh. of Richard Fowler of Pendeford, Esq.

John Lane, Esq., of King's Bromley Hall, co. Stafford. Died 21 Dec. 1824.

Thos. Lane, Esq., of Leyton Grange, co. Essex, died 10 Jan. 1824. = Barbara, dau. of Thos. Fowler, Esq. of Pendeford, co. Stafford.

Rev. Charles Lane, M.A., Rector and Vicar of Wrotham, 1845.

From Collinson's *Hist. of Somerset*, iii. 66, corrected by Lysons' *Environs of London*, ii. 292:—

C

Hugh de Plessetis. = Muriel de Wrotham.

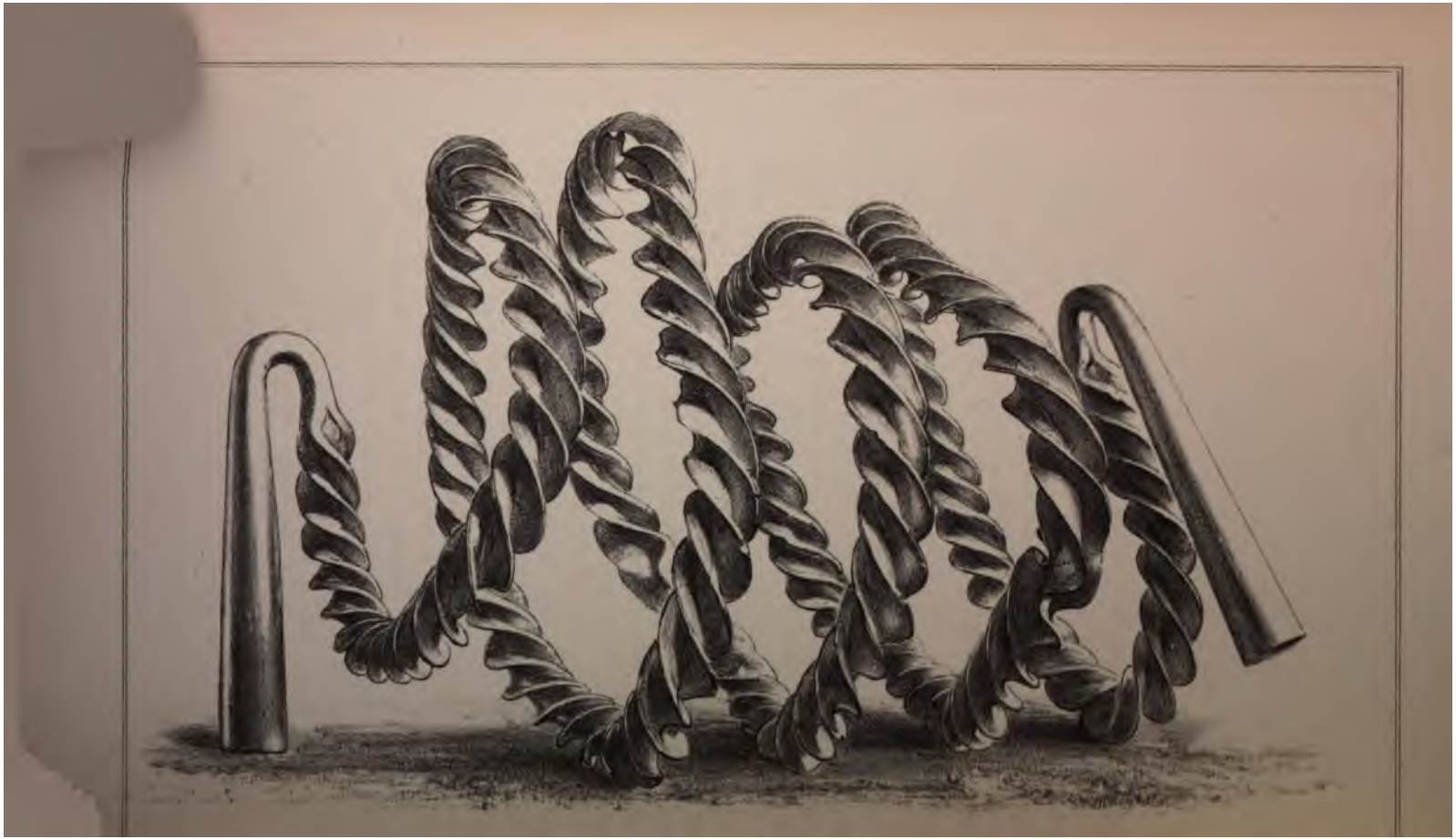
William de Plessetis. John. 3. Richard de Plessetis *alias* de Wrotham. Will 1292. = Gladyna le Romeyn.

John de Wrotham *Prior*, ob. 1323. Richard de Wrotham of Sheperton. = William de Wrotham.

dau. of . . . = Richard Wroth.

William, o. s. p. John Wroth, ob. 48 Ed. III. = Margaret, vid. J. de Enefelde.

Matilda Durant. = John Wroth. = Alice.



GOLD TORQUES FROM DOVER.

The splendid example of a golden torques, shewn at full size, in the annexed plate, was found in the grounds of Mr. Chignell's residence, Castle Mount, Dover, in February, 1878. It weighs about twelve ounces, forms an armlet of five coils, and is in perfect preservation, although it was buried about six feet deep in the soil. For the photographs from which our plate is taken, we are indebted to the generous kindness and skill of Mr. Lambert Weston, of Dover. Mr. Chignell's courtesy enabled all persons, interested in such examples of primitive art, to see this torques at Dover, and it will ultimately be deposited in the national collection, at the British Museum.

It is well known that the ancient Celtic chieftains and warriors, of Gaul and of Britain, wore armlets, and collars, of gold; but the more general and earlier types of these ornaments consisted each of but one single band of metal, whether twisted (whence the name *torquis* or torques) or round, or flat or angular. Admirable representations of such *armillæ* found in Kent, are given in *Archæologia Cantiana* (Vol. V., pp. 42, 43, and Vol. IX., pp. 2, 11.) Of such simple character was an example found at Dover, in a ploughed field, about A.D. 1772. It was of pure gold, nine ounces in weight, forming one band, flat inside, but rounded on its outer surface, and just sixteen inches long; broad in the centre, it diminished in width towards its extremities. The papers written by Mr. Pretty (in Vol. V., 41), and by Mr. C. Roach Smith (in Vol. IX., 1), contain much information respecting such primitive ornaments of ancient notables.

The torques recently found at Castle Mount, Dover, differs from these simpler examples, in its spiral form. The twisted bar of gold, instead of forming one band around the arm, is coiled into a spiral which forms five coils around the

arm. It terminates, at either end, in a long narrow round cone, which is bent back, hook-like; perhaps its effect was to press upon the arm so as to keep the armlet firmly fixed. An example, almost exactly similar to this, but of six coils, was found many years ago in Cheshire, and became the property of Sir Philip de Grey Egerton. It is engraved in Dr. Wm. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, (article *Armillæ*), and in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. v., p. 342, where mention is made of another armlet, exactly similar in form and metal, found in the Fens, near Cambridge, thirty years ago. A still more elaborate example, forming no less than twelve coils around the arm, was found near Carrickfergus, in June, 1846. It was melted up, although its weight, 6 oz. 15 cwt. 6 gr., was little more than half that of our Dover example. Fortunately an engraving of it in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. ii., 357, preserves a record of its appearance. Mr. Petrie's examples of the Irish torques, found at Tara Hill,* in Meath, were of similar type to this which Mr. Chignell found at Dover.

The remarks of Dr. Samuel Birch respecting this spiral form of the twisted armillæ are worthy of quotation. He says:—"A much rarer variety of this type is when the torques was adapted for the thick of the arm, by twisting it into a spiral, with one hook at each end. It seems a later adaptation, as if by a race wearing *armillæ*, or making their torques for the neck, into *a trophy*. This species of torques was given as a military honour.† Similar armlets occur among the Scandinavian remains."‡

Polybius (*Hist.* xi., quoted by Mr. J. B. Deane§), in describing the battle of Telamon, says that all the Celtic Gauls who occupied the first ranks were adorned with golden *manaks* and bracelets; manaks (*μανιάκης*) being the golden rings which the Gauls wore on their necks and wrists. The custom of wearing these *manaks* or collars was probably derived by the Celts from the Persians, who adopted it from

* *Journal of British Archæological Association*, vol. ii., 379.
† Vopiscus, *Vit. Aurelian*, c. 7.
‡ *Journal of British Archæological Association*, vol. iii., 29.
§ *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii.

the Chaldeans. The Druids, or priests of the Gauls and Germans, are said to have worn these golden marks of honour.* Dio Cassius (lib. lxii. 1) mentions large torques worn by Boadicea. The Welsh (Cymry) likewise wore the golden torques, as we learn from the poems of Aneurin. The Chaldee word *menēka* (*μανιάκης* in the Septuagint) is used in Daniel v. 7, 16, 29, for the golden collar or chain which was promised by Belshazzar as a royal reward and mark of honour. The Rev. Daniel Haigh speaks of many traces of early connection between the primitive Chaldeans and our own Teutonic forefathers.† He has likewise quoted, in *Archæologia Cantiana* (Vol. X., p. 34), a passage from *The Traveller's Tale*, in which Widsith the traveller relates that Eormanric King of the Goths (father of Æthelbert King of Kent) raised him to the rank of a *rad-cnight*, and gave to him a golden collar, on which were scored 600 divisions, as the valuation of that rank in *scillings*. No doubt the ancient custom, derived by our forefathers from the Chaldeans, still survives, and such collars as those of the Order of the Garter, or of the Bath, are the modern representatives of the primitive neck-torques.

The ancient arm-torques, or bracelet, although not now used as a manly mark of distinction by European nations, is nevertheless still in demand as a decoration for African warriors and chiefs. Mr. Stern, who was for many years a resident and a captive in Abyssinia, informs me that the custom of bestowing armlets as a royal mark of honour and distinction is still observed there. The recipients are generally potent chiefs, or distinguished military leaders. Thus, as with the ancient Celts and Persians, so with the modern Abyssinians, the armlet of gold, or of silver-gilt, six or seven inches wide, engraved, or ornamented with flowers in relief, is a mark of distinction and honour, and its unauthorized assumption would cost an Abyssinian his life. Probably Judah's "bracelets," mentioned in Genesis xxxviii. 18, 25, must be accounted as a mark of rank, almost as distinctive as his signet; but Gesenius is most likely correct, in saying

* Pliny, xxxiii., 1, c. 2.; Strabo, lib. vi.; Diodorus, *De Gallis*, v.
† *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. X., p. 36.

that Judah wore that decoration around his neck, not u his arms. The Septuagint renders it ὁρμίσκος, thus agre with Gesenius,* who speaks of it as the cord, or chain which Judah's signet was suspended from his neck, betw his inner and outer garments, as used by the Persians to day.

Most probably, as Dr. Birch has wisely suggested spiral form of the twisted bar of gold was a late type of armillæ, or arm-torques, and we may perhaps refer splendid example, found at Dover, to the third or fo century, or later. It seems to be formed from four plate gold, twisted together into a screw-like appearance, the vature being very regular and extremely elegant. A ver section of this torques would be cruciform.

* Gesenius, *Hebrew and English Lexicon* (London, 1832), pp. 185, 453

THE ASSIZE OF BREAD.

Our remote ancestors had an admirable method of protecting the interests of the public, which may not perhaps commend itself to the commercial world in these vaunted days of free-trade. Domesday-book informs us that in the reign of Edward the Confessor, brewers of bad beer, in the city of Chester, were condemned to stand in the tumbril or dung-cart. The same punishment was awarded to them in a Statute passed in 51 Henry III, which assigned the disgrace of standing in the pillory, to those bakers who fraudulently broke the assize of bread.*

An early enactment compelled London bakers to make loaves of such sizes and weights as could be sold at either four for a penny, or two for a penny, and forbad them to charge three farthings, or one penny, or five farthings, for any one loaf.† The rule was relaxed respecting penny loaves, so that bread of that price could be made, but the half-peny and farthing loaves still remained the staple commodities during the Middle Ages.

Mr. Humphry Wickham, of Strood, has communicated to us the contents of a mediæval roll, 5 feet 9 inches long, which he obtained in Rochester, containing an elaborate set of tables, whereby the bakers of bread were bound to regulate the weight of their loaves. Since the price of each loaf was fixed by law, its weight naturally varied, as wheat rose or fell in value. The size and weight of each loaf increased as wheat became cheaper, and decreased when wheat was dear. These mediæval tables, found by Mr. Wickham, are calculated to shew the baker how much his loaves must weigh when wheat sells at any of forty-five different prices. They are probably some of the most elaborate tables ever made for the

* Blackstone's *Commentaries*, book iv., chap. 12, sect. 5.
† Riley's *Liber Albus*, pp. lxvi., 356, 358.

assize of bread. They commenced with the standard of weight for each loaf, when wheat was sold at 3s. per quarter; and ended with the standard of weight to be given, when wheat was 26s. 6d. per quarter.

At first sight, the weights enumerated seem to be very puzzling, but they become quite intelligible when we know that the current coin of the realm formed the weights used in these tables. Thus each loaf's weight is estimated, not by pounds or ounces, but by the number of shillings, or pence, which it will balance in the scales. Pence, be it remembered, being, at that period, silver coins.

These elaborate tables mention loaves of seven kinds, viz:—three sorts of farthing loaves, three sorts of halfpeny loaves, and one sort of penny loaf. Of the farthing loaves the heaviest, and therefore the commonest, was the *farthing white loaf*, the second was the *wastell*, and the lightest or best was the *symnell*. Of the halfpeny loaves the heaviest was that "*of all greynes*," the second was the "*halfpeny wheat loaf*," the lightest, and best, was the *halfpeny white loaf*. The "*peny wheat loaf*" weighed exactly as much as two halfpeny wheat loaves, or as six farthing white loaves. The halfpeny loaf of all grains weighed as much as four farthing white loaves; while three of the latter weighed as much as one-halfpeny wheat loaf.

The form of the tables may be gathered from the following extract.

V^{s} a quarter of whete.

The fferthyng Wastell shall wey	xxvij^{s} ij^{d} ob'
The Symnell shall wey	xxv^{s} ij^{d} ob'
The fferthing white loof	xxix^{s} ij^{d} ob'
The halfpeny white loof	lviij^{s} v^{d}
The halfpeny whete loof	iiij^{li} vij^{s} vij^{d} ob'
The peny whete loof	viij^{li} xv^{s} iij^{d}
The halfpeny loof of all Greynes	v^{li} xvj^{s} x^{d}

This *formula* was repeated forty-five times upon the roll, which is written in double columns. In the first column are the standards of weight when wheat varied from 3s. to 14s. per quarter. The second column is mutilated; it begins with

part of the standards of weight when wheat was at 15s. 6d. the quarter, and it ends with those to be observed when 26s. 6d. per quarter was the selling price. The roll is repaired with a portion of a lease, dated 1586, respecting premises near Rochester Castle. This Bread Assize Standard was probably written early in the fifteenth century.

In the *Custumale Roffense*, p. 50, we find a much earlier standard of Assize, which was set forth during the reign of Richard *Cœur de Lion*.

> This is the assize made before the Lord H[*ubert*] Archbishop, and before the Bishops, Earls, and Barons at Can[*terbury*] by order of the Lord King Richard.

When a seam of wheat is sold for—

d.	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
16	18	20	22	2	28	33	3	40

The farthing loaf, wastel and simenel ought to weigh—

mares.	*m.*	*m.*	*m.*	*d.*	*s.*	*m.*	*m.*	*s.*	*s.*
6	5	4½	4	22	50	3½	3	36	30

The farthing Pollard loaf ought to weigh 6ˢ more, whether wheat be cheap or dear.

The peny loaf should weigh 20ˢ more than the farthing loaf.

Another early Standard of Bread Assize is preserved among the municipal archives of Sandwich.* It alludes to the Kentish custom of measuring bread, and other dry goods, by the gallon, stating that one gallon contains 8lbs. of wheat; also that 8 gallons and 8lbs. make a bushel; while 8 bushels make a London quarter. It requires that when a quarter of wheat sells for 12d., the farthing *wastel* bread should weigh as much as six pounds and sixteen shillings, while *cocket bread*, of the same corn and bultel, should weigh as much as do six pounds and eighteen shillings. If, however, the corn and bultel were of lower price, the cocket bread should weigh as much as seven pounds and one shilling.

This old Sandwich Standard goes on to say that *Simnel* bread is not commonly weighed, being used only in Lent. If brought to scale, the *simnel* loaf should weigh two shil-

* Boys' *History of Sandwich*, p. 543.

lings less than the *wastel*, because the simnel is doubly baked. It adds that

(i) A farthing *Bread of treet* shall weigh two *wastells*.

(ii) A *Loaf of the whole wheat* shall weigh a *cocket* and a half.

(iii) A *Loaf of the mixed corn* shall weigh two cockets of coarser meal.

(iv) A *halfpeny loaf of fine* flour shall weigh as much as three farthing wastels.

When a quarter of wheat is sold at—

d.	*s.*	*s. d.*	*s.*	*s. d.*	*s.*	*s. d.*	*s.*	*s. d.*	*s.*	*s. d.*
18	2	2 6	3	3 6	4	4 6	5	5 6	6	6 6

A farthing wasted shall weigh—

s. d.	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*
90 8	68	58	48	42	36	30	26 2¼	24 8¼	22 8	20 11

The Sandwich document* ends by stating that "in this assize the baker, in every quarter of wheat, may gain 4d., besides the bran and two loaves in every baking." This profit, it says, can be obtained after paying 1½d. for three servants; a farthing for two boys; one halfpeny each for salt, for yeast, for candle and for sifting; and three pence for wood. This was known from the experience of the King's baker, who had proved the fact.

The power of enforcing observance of the assize of bread was vested in the various local authorities, of Hundreds, Towns, and Manors throughout the country. For example, the Hundred Roll for Kent, in the third year of Edward I (1274-5), says that the Hundred of Blakeburne is worth yearly, *with the assize of bread* and beer, etc., 40s;† and that in Cranbrook Hundred, the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, the Abbot of Battel, the Prior of Cumbwell and Lord William de Valence had the *assize of bread* and beer from their respective tenants, to the damage of the King.‡ In Selebryhtindenne Hundred, the Archbishop had the return of pleas of illegal distress, wreck of the sea, a gallows, and *the assize of bread* and beer.§ The Hundred of Westerham was in the hands of Lord Robert de Caunvile, who had the assize of bread and ale.‖ The Earl of Gloucester had a

* Boys' *History of Sandwich*, p. 544. † Furley's *Weald of Kent*, ii., 123. ‡ *Ibidem*, 124. § *Ibidem*, 125. ‖ *Ibidem*, 126.

gallows, and the assize of bread and ale in Brasted.* In the half hundred of Bernefeld the Abbot of Boxley and the Prior of Cumbwell both had the assize of bread and ale, and the latter had a gallows.† The men of the Hundred of Rochester had a gallows, the assize of bread and ale, and other things which pertain to the Crown, by charter confirmed by the King from olden time.‡ In the Hundred of Chatham, R. de Crevequer had the assize of bread and ale from ancient time.§ At Tunstall, in Middleton Hundred, Stephen de Pencestre claimed to have a gallows, tumbril, and assize of bread and ale; while, at Newington, in the same Hundred, the Abbot of St. Augustine's had a tumbril, and the assize of bread and ale.‖ These examples will suffice; and the mention of tumbrils, in the two last citations, may lead us to the question of punishment.

The usual penalty, for breaking the assize, was a fine; but in the City of London, fraudulent bakers were more severely punished. In the time of Edward II, the sheriff of London was forbidden to accept fines from them.¶ Upon the first occasion of a baker's bread being found in default, of weight or quality, he was to be drawn upon a hurdle from the Guildhall, through the most crowded streets, to his own house. Upon a second offence he was drawn on a hurdle from Guildhall to the Pillory, through the "great streets of Chepe," and made to stand on the pillory for at least one hour. For a third default, he was to be drawn on a hurdle, his oven was broken to pieces, and he was made to swear that he would never again pursue the trade of a baker.** To facilitate detection of such fraudulent traders, every London baker was bound to have a seal or stamp peculiar to himself, with which he impressed every loaf that he made,†† and of this seal the Alderman of his ward retained a copy.‡‡ The London baker could not sell his own bread anywhere but in the public markets, where retail dealers (generally women) bought it at the rate of thirteen batches for the price of twelve; and by them the bread was sold

* Furley's *Weald of Kent*, ii., p. 127. † *Ibidem*, p. 131. ‡ *Ibidem*, p. 145.
§ *Ibidem*, p. 146. ‖ *Ibidem*, 147. ¶ Riley's *Liber Albus*, p. lxx.
** Riley's *Liber Albus*, p. 265. †† *Ibidem*, pp. lxvii., 264. ‡‡ *Ibid.*, p. 702.

from house to house.* The baskets, in which the baker carried his bread (*panis*) to market, were called *panyers*.† When the authorities assayed bread, they weighed each loaf while it was hot from the oven.

In the country, generally, the penalties for default of weight or quality were fines. The Sandwich records state that when the town-councillors were assembled, persons were despatched to the various places where bread was sold, and the bread thus obtained was assayed before the assembly. In *Views of Frank pledge*, the jury reported or "presented" all defaulters who broke the assize. For example, in the records of the Borough of Queenborough, we read how, in the eleventh year of Henry VII, twelve Jurymen, upon their oaths, represented that William Henakyre and John Bakare of Middleton were foreign (*i.e.* non-inhabitant), common bakers who sold bread for human food‡ within the Borough of Queenborough, but did not observe strict weight; each of them was therefore fined 4d. Also they represented that Andrew Mone, Richard Bessy's wife, and Joan Freman, were common bakers inhabitant within the borough, and they likewise brake the assize in the weight of their bread; therefore Andrew was fined 6d., and the women were fined 3d. each.

Nor were the bakers of light or bad bread the only persons punished. Retail dealers, called "tipplers" of bread and beer, who probably kept houses of refreshment, were likewise visited with penalties. Thus at the *View of Frank pledge*, held in Queenborough on Monday, the 8th of May, 34 H. VIII, the Jurors represented that Thomas Hewett, Antony Nevell, and Richard Cockerell's widow, are common tipplers (*tiplatores*) of bread and beer, and they break the assize. Therefore they are all fined; Antony in 6d., and the others in 3d. each. Such entries are found in the records of almost every *View of Frank pledge*, held in various manors throughout the country.

The laws now in force, respecting weights and measures, and for the regulation of the bakers' trade, are perhaps as

* *Ibidem*, pp. lxvii-viii, 702. † *Ibidem*, p. lxviii.

‡ Horse-bread, of pease and beans, was made by bakers in the Middle Ages. (Riley's *Liber Albus*, p. lxxi.)

stringent as modern notions will permit, but it is evident that seven hundred years ago, and throughout the Middle Ages, the public interest was much more carefully protected, and fraudulent bakers were more stringently watched and punished.

Mr. Wickham's Rochester roll gives the following standards of weight for the various loaves, according to the varying price of wheat.

WEIGHTS OF LOAVES.

Wheat. Price of a qr.		¼d. Wastell.		Symnell.		¼d. White.		½d. White.			½d. Wheat.			1d. Wheat.			½d. of all grains.		
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
4	0	34	0	32	0	36	0	3	12	0	5	8	0	10	16	0	7	4	0
4	6	30	2¾	28	2¾	32	2¼	3	4	5½	4	16	8¼	9	13	4½	6	8	11
5	0	27	2½	25	2¼	29	2¼	0	58	5	4	7	7½	8	15	3	5	16	10
5	6	24	8¾	22	8¾	26	8¾	0	53	5½	4	0	2¼	8	0	4½	5	6	11
6	0	22	8	20	8	24	8	0	49	4	3	14	0	7	8	0	4	18	8
6	6	20	11	18	11	22	11	0	45	10	3	8	9	6	17	6	4	11	8
7	0	19	5	17	5	21	5	0	42	10	3	4	3	6	8	6	4	5	8
7	6	18	1½	16	1½	20	1½	0	40	3	3	0	4½	6	0	9	4	0	6
8	0	17	0	15	0	19	0	0	38	0	0	57	0	5	14	0	3	16	0
8	6	16	0	14	0	18	0	0	36	0	0	54	0	5	8	0	3	12	0
9	0	15	1¼	13	1¼	17	1¼	0	34	2½	0	51	3¾	5	2	7½	3	8	5
9	6	14	3¾	12	3¾	16	3¾	0	32	7½	0	48	11¼	4	17	10½	3	5	3
10	0	13	7¼	11	7¼	15	7¼	0	31	2½	0	46	9¾	4	13	7½	3	2	5

Having given completely these 13 variations of the standards of weight, appropriately to the subject, 13 being a baker's dozen, we will give only the basis of calculation in the other cases.

That basis is the weight of the Farthing Wastell.

The Symnell weighed always 2s. less than the wastell.

The Farthing White loaf weighed always 2s. more than the wastell.

The halfpeny White loaf always balanced 2 farthing white loaves.

The halfpeny Wheat loaf always balanced 3 farthing white loaves.

The Penny wheat loaf always balanced 2 halfpeny wheat loaves.

The halfpeny loaf of all grains always balanced 2 halfpeny White loaves.

The actual standard unit then, for the remaining variations in price, was as follows:—

	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.
When a quarter of wheat sells for	10	6	11	0	11	6	12	0	12	6	13	0	13
The ½d. wastell shall weigh ...	12	11½	12	4¼	11	9¾	11	4	10	10½	10	5½	10
When a quarter of wheat sells for	15	6	16	0	16	6	17	0	17	6	18	0	18
The ½d. wastell shall weigh ...	8	9¼	8	6	8	3	8	0	7	9¼	7	6¾	7
When a quarter of wheat sells for	19	0	19	6	20	0	20	6	21	0	21	6	22
The ½d. wastell shall weigh ...	7	2	6	11¾	6	9¾	6	7¾	6	5¾	6	4	6
When a quarter of wheat sells for	22	6	23	0	23	6	24	0	24	6	25	0	25
The ½d. wastell shall weigh ...	6	0½	5	11	5	9½	5	8	5	6	5	5¼	5
When a quarter of wheat sells for	26	0											
The ½d. wastell shall weigh ...	5	2¾											

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES ON THANET.

THE ancient Celtic, or British, name of this Island, is extremely expressive. Asser, in his *Annals of the Exploits of Alfred*, and Florence of Worcester in his *Chronicle*, both of them, in describing the events of A.D. 853, tell us that Thanet was, by the Britons, called *Ruim*.* The *Chronologia* of St. Augustine's Abbey, likewise, under the date A.D. 694 describes a charter, given in that year, as "Carta de terra iiii aratrorum in Thaneto Britannice *Ruym*," etc.†

The Gaelic word *Ruimne* meant "a marsh;" and Isaac Taylor says that the name of Romney Marsh is derived from *ruimne*. He would, probably, tell us that a trace of Thanet's ancient title (*Ruim*) still lingers in the word *Ramsgate;* for he says that the name of Ramsey, in the Fens, is derived from the Gaelic word *ruimne*, a marsh.‡ Certainly no name could have been more fitting and descriptive, for a large portion of the Isle of Thanet, than this of *Ruim*, which was applied to it by the ancient Britons.

The tangible traces, discovered from time to time, of inhabitants in Thanet, form a continuous chain which reaches back beyond the commencement of the Christian era. The ancient Celtic inhabitants, or Britons, have left us much more tangible traces than the mere echo of the name by which they called this island. Flint knives, chisels, and adzes of stone, have revealed their former presence at Ramsgate, and around Reculver. Bronze celts bear witness to their occupation of Minster, and of Garlinge near Margate. At the latter place no less than twenty-seven celts were found together, when a sea-gate was dug, through the cliff, in the year 1724.

* "Insula quæ dicitur in Saxonica lingua *Tenet*, Britannico autem sermone *Ruim*."

† C. Hardwick's edition of *Historia Monasterii Sci. Augustini Cantuariensis*, page 7. *Decem Scriptores*, column 2234.

‡ *Words and Places*, fifth edition, page 237 (note 2).

The Romans, and the Port of Stonore.

Roman remains have been found at Dandelion at Margate, at Ramsgate, at Minster, at Osinghelle in St. Lawrence, at Broadstairs and elsewhere. It is quite clear that during the period of Roman sway in Britain, Thanet was widely occupied.

Soon after those rulers of the ancient world acquired supremacy in Britain, we find repeated mention of "*Portus Rutupensis*, the name given by the Romans to the estuary, which then separated the Isle of Thanet from the mainland."* Mr. Planché draws a graphic picture of this estuary's mouth, as we may suppose it to have appeared, during the palmy days of Roman Richborough (*Rutupiæ*). "We may descry the Belgic Briton in his wicker coracle, paddling over to the Isle of Thanet, divided from the mainland by the sea, at that point nearly a mile in breadth, and studded with trading vessels from Gaul, Greece, or Phœnicia."† In the third century, a Roman writer, C. Julius Solinus, mentions Thanet by the name which it bears at present.‡ We thus know what the Romans called this island, let us seek to discover at what port in the island they were accustomed to land.

As the two Roman *Castra*, of Richborough and Reculver, were both on the mainland of Kent, this inquiry becomes interesting. Surely some town on the Thanet side of the estuary must have been then in use? The plural form of the name *Rutupiæ* suggests the existence, in *Portus Rutupensis*, of a second town, which naturally would be situated on the eastern shore, as Richborough stood on the western bank, of the estuary.

We know, from the discovery of Roman remains, that the Imperial race occupied Ramsgate's§ East Cliff and West

* Planché's *A Corner of Kent*, p. 1; Lucan's *Pharsalia*, vi. 67; Juvenal's *Satire*, iv., 141; Ausonius's *Parentalia*, all quoted by C. Roach Smith, *Antiquities of Richborough*, pp. 4, 5, 10, 11, 13.

† Planché, *Ibidem*, p. 18.

‡ Cap. xxiv.; *Collect. Rer. Mem.* Berolini, 1864, p. 114. Battely's *Antiquitates Rutupinæ*, p. 9. Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, sub voce *Tanet*.

§ Hicks' 'Roman Remains in Ramsgate,' *Archæologia Cantiana*, XII, p. 14.

Cliff, were buried at Osinghelle in St. Lawrence, and inhabited Cliffs End,* where the parishes of St. Lawrence and Minster meet. Yet these places can scarcely be said to have been within the *Portus Rutupensis*. There was, however, on the eastern shore of the estuary, an ancient town called Estanore or Stonore in Thanet, which formed that island's port. Lewis says (p. 132) that it was itself an island, but if not, it stood upon a long peninsula, which projected from the south-eastern extremity of Thanet, and was undoubtedly the original port town of the Island. Sandwich, on the opposite shore, which gradually superseded Stonore, is first heard of in the seventh† century (Somner says the tenth),‡ but not until the eleventh century had it become "the most famous of all the ports of England."§ In all probability, Stonore and London had both been small British ports, which the Romans developed. The connection between them was very ancient. Ammianus Marcellinus‖ (lib. 20) tells us that the Deputy Lupicinus, embarking at Boulogne, sailed over to Rutupiæ, and so to London. This was the usual course; the port for London was the twin-towned port of Rutupiæ. Of its twin towns the first seen by ships sailing from the European continent to London would be Estanore, or Stonore, on the eastern shore, which they would pass before they touched Richborough, on the western bank. We would identify Stonore as the *Lundenwic* which is mentioned in a charter granted by King Edbert (Æthelbert II) to Sigeburga, Abbess of St. Peter's and St. Paul's monastery in Minster, *circa* A.D. 761.¶ Somner quotes two instances in

* At the Annual Meeting of our Kent Archæological Society, in 1877, Mr. Bubb of Minster exhibited Roman remains which were found by the late Mr. Petley near his house at Cliff's End. One large *amphora*, which held six or seven gallons, was six feet in circumference at its widest part, and within it were three other vessels. One was a glass bottle, another was a Samian *patera*, and the third was an urn containing calcined bones. They were found midway between Mr. Petley's house, and the boundary stone of Minster parish.

† Planché, *Corner of Kent*, p. 34.

‡ *Roman Ports and Forts in Kent*, p. 15.

§ *Emmæ* [Ælfgivæ] *Reginæ Encomium*, edit. Paris, A.D. 1619.

‖ Quoted fully by C. Roach Smith, *Antiquities of Richborough*, p. 7.

¶ "Id est, duarum navium transvectionis censum, qui etiam juris nostri erat in loco cujus vocabulum ad Serræ; juxta petitionem venerabilis abbatissæ Sigeburgæ ejusque sacræ conversationis familiæ, in monasterio sancti Petri quod situm est in Insula Tenæt; sicut a regibus Merciorum, Æthilbaldo vide-

which *Lundenwic* is mentioned as the port used by St. Boniface on his missionary journies, to and from the continent of Europe.* He identifies Lundenwic with Rutupium or Richborough; saying, of the Saxons, that "rejecting the wonted name of this place *Rutupium* they renamed it *Lundenwic*."† He further alleges that the Danes changed the name into Sandwich. It seems however to be more probable that Lundenwic was Estanore, the other twin-town of the Roman Rutupiæ. The city of London has never claimed any jurisdiction over, or connection with, Richborough or Sandwich; but it has claimed ancient rights in Estanore. In the year 1090, as W. Thorn's *Chronicle*‡ informs, us, the Corporation of London claimed jurisdiction over Stonore, as a seaport subject to the city of London.§ The King and his justices decided against London, and found a verdict in favour of the rights of St. Augustine's Abbey. This legal suit and its result seem to leave little doubt that *Lundenwic* was Stonor (*Estanore*), not Sandwich. The latter Port belonged to Christ church, Canterbury, and St. Augustine's had no rights whatever in Sandwich. On the other hand, grants of *Lundenwic*, made by Æthelbert and Offa, are recited in a charter belonging to St. Augustine's Abbey, (which succeeded to the possessions of Minster Abbey). To St. Augustine's Abbey, as the King's Court decided, the Stonore rights belonged in A.D. 1090. Stonore and Sandwich seem to have been rivals in the middle ages. The ferry rights between the two towns belonged to Christ Church, and in 1127 some tenants of St. Augustine's were sued because they used another ferryboat.‖ In 1266, men of Sandwich burnt two of the abbot's mills, one at Stonore, the other at Hepesflete.¶ Fourteen years later, the abbot complains that Sandwich men injure his sea wall, between Stonore and Cliffs-end, by forcibly digging up the materials, and carting

licet clementissimo et rege Offan, longe ante concessum est tributum in loco cujus vocabulum est Lundenwic." Thomas of Elmham's *Hist. Mon. St. Augustini*. p. 322.

* Somner, *Roman Ports and Forts*, pp. 12, 13, quoting Willibald's *Vita S. Bonifacii*, p. 354. Edit. Ingolstad, 1603.

† *Ibidem*, pp. 18, 19. ‡ *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1793, line 30.

§ Boys' *History of Sandwich*, p. 656; Somner's *Ports and Forts*, p. 14.

‖ *Ibidem*, pp. 553-4. ¶ *Ibidem*, p. 659.

them away, thus endangering his Minster manor.* The "*ancient city*" of Stonore (so it is called in a Sandwich manuscript written more than three centuries ago), continued to be frequented until late in the fourteenth century. Louis, the Dauphin of France, when he came to England to contend with King John, landed at Stonore in May, 1215. King Edward III came to Stonore in 1359 and took up his quarters there, in the house which Robert Goverils had lately possessed.† There, on the 11th of October, he delivered up the Great Seal, to its temporary custodian, with all customary ceremonial. Not until the 28th of that month did he embark on board the Philippe of Dartmouth, and depart. Edward III seems therefore to have dwelt for a week or two in the Isle of Thanet on that occasion.

The old town of Stonore was called "Old Sandwiche" by some ignorant people, says Leland‡. It enjoyed an annual fair of five days' duration, and likewise a weekly market, the former granted by Henry I in 1104, and the latter by King John.§ It suffered from marine convulsion in 1365, when a great inundation of the sea from Cliffs End to Stonore nearly destroyed the town; and all the levels or marshes, between Canterbury and the sea, were in danger of being overflowed.‖ In 1385 it was burnt by the French.

Although Leland said that nothing remained, in his time, but the ruin of Stonore Church, and Hasted avers that in his time (1790) there were but three houses in the parish, and no church; yet, in May 1648, there was at Stonore one Peter Vanderflaet,¶ who sent £100 to an impostor, at Sandwich, who falsely personated Charles Prince of Wales, son of Charles I.

Upon the whole, I think there is much evidence to support the contention that Estanore, or Stonore, existed for centuries before Sandwich was heard of; and that this lost town was used, if not founded, by the Romans as their port

* Boys' *Hist. Sandwich*, p. 660.
† *Ibidem*, p. 669.
‡ Leland, *Itinerary*, vii. 127.
§ Hasted, *History of Kent*, x., 415.
‖ Boys' *History of Sandwich*, p. 669. Dugdale's *History of Imbanking*, p. 44. *Rot. Pat.* 39 Edward III, part 1, memb. 19 dorso.
¶ Boys' *History of Sandwich*, p. 714.

on the Thanet side of the estuary. I cannot entertain the slightest doubt that this lost town of Estanore, or Stonore, was identical with Lundenwic.

Saxons in Thanet.

Admirers of our Saxon ancestors, very justly, speak with some enthusiasm respecting Thanet, as the landing place of the first Saxon conquerors. But were these Saxon conquerors the first Saxons in Thanet?

Discoveries made in the cemetery at Osinghelle* (or Osengal), when the South-Eastern railway was cut through it, support very strongly the idea that colonies of Teutonic tribes, or "Saxons," had become domesticated in Kent under the Roman rule. This cemetery, at Osinghelle, contained a large number of Saxon interments, but amongst them was a Roman coffin of lead, a pair of bronze scales, a set of weights formed of Roman coins, and other Roman relics. These go far to prove that, on the site of the mediæval parish of St. Lawrence, midway between its church and Manston Court, a population of Roman citizens and of Teutonic colonists must have subsisted side by side. Mr. Thomas Wright was strongly of this opinion.† The Romans seem to have made use of Teutonic mercenaries to defend their "Saxon shore," on both sides of the Channel; and these mercenaries were not merely soldiers, but colonists who brought families with them. Mr. Latham adopts the suggestion, originally put forward by Zeuss, which traces to these "*læti*" the origin of the Kentish term *lathe*. That

* Richard de Osingehelle paid Romescot in St. Lawrence in the thirteenth century (*Cotton, MS.*, Faustina A. I., fol. 22b.)

† *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, chap. xiii., p. 386.—"It seems certain that in some parts . . . . the transition from Roman to Saxon was gradual, and that the two races mixed together. At Canterbury, Colchester, Rochester, and other places, we find Roman and Saxon interments in the same cemetery; and in the extensive Saxon burial-ground at Osengal, in the Isle of Thanet, a Roman interment in a leaden coffin was met with. The result of the discoveries which have been made in the researches among the Saxon cemeteries, has been to render it more and more probable that the Saxons were gradually gaining a footing in the island, before the period at which the grand invasions are understood to have commenced."

name, applied to divisions of this county, is not known in any other part of England, and it may well be derived from the "*terræ læticæ*" which, says the Theodosian Code, were lands apportioned to the *Læti*, who colonised them.* The word *Læti*, is but a Roman form of the German word *leute*, people;† and its use by the Romans seems to have been analogous to the ancient Jewish use of the word Gentiles. The Thanet cemetery opened at Osinghelle gives tangible proof of the existence here of the Teutonic Læti, side by side with the ruling Romans.

When that Imperial race deserted Britain, the "Saxons" seem to have perpetuated the remembrance of Roman roads, and of Roman "aulæ," by retaining the name of each as a *Street* or a *Hall*. In Thanet such traces of Roman civilization ares till embodied in the names, Dun Street, Reading Street, Monkton Street, Tattell Street, Spratting Street, Sole Street, Smock Street, Westgate Street, and perhaps in White Hall in St. Lawrence, Upper Hale and Lower Hale in St. Nicholas or Birchington.

Although the majority of names in Thanet are undoubtedly Saxon, yet we find but few place-names in the island which can be traced to Saxon *patronymics* as their origin. When we have named Garlinge, Birchington, Halling Court, Osinghelle, Ellington, and Newington, we have probably exhausted all the Saxon patronymic names in Thanet; and of these six some are doubtful. Spratting Street I take to be a modern corruption of the surname Sprackling; and Reading Street was probably Riding Street, a bridle path. The Saxon cemeteries however enable us to prove continuous occupation here, from and after the cessation of the Roman rule. The Osinghelle cemetery, as we have already seen, was in use in the fifth century, before the Romans left, and it must have continued in use during a long period subsequent to their departure; for the number of Saxon graves, excavated in the chalk, was very large. Coins (Saxon *scœttæ*), found among the numerous graves

* Latham's *Handbook of the English Language*, 4th edition, pp. 81, 82.
† Taylor's *Words and Places*, 5th edition, p. 95, *note*.

opened at Sarre, prove that the Sarre cemetery was in use during the seventh century, as late as the years A.D. 653-6;* that is to say, within twenty years before Dompneva founded Minster Nunnery. Who then were the "Saxons" that lie buried at Osinghelle and Sarre? Were they exclusively the companions and descendants of those who, landing at Ebbsfleet in A.D. 449, are called the Jutish or Saxon conquerors of England—or were there also buried here many older colonists, of Teutonic race, who had been peacefully settled in Thanet for many years before the landing of Hengest? The testimony of Osinghelle Cemetery, with its Roman interments among the Saxon graves, seems to prove that the latter suggestion is the truth. This fact need not lessen our interest in Thanet as the landing place of Hengest. Yet we should regulate our enthusiasm, by bearing the fact in mind, when we read such stirring words as these of Mr. J. R. Green:—"It is with the landing of Hengest and his war-band, at Ebbsfleet, on the shores of the Isle of Thanet, that English history begins. No spot in England can be so sacred, to Englishmen, as that which first felt the tread of English feet."†

Thanet's Insulation.

The water which separated Thanet from the mainland was called the *Wantsum*, and its north mouth had the name of *Genlade*. Lambarde in his *Perambulation of Kent* says,‡

"Beda hath mention of a water in Kent, running by Reculvers, which he calleth *Genlade*. This name was afterwards sounded *Yenlade*, by the same misrule that *geard* is now *yard*; *geoc* now yoke, etc. . . . I read in Bedae's . . . fifte booke, chap. 9, that Reculver standeth at the Northe mouthe of the water *Genlade*, which is the one mouthe of Wantsume, by his owne description. . . . That water which now sundereth the Isle of Greane from the hundred of Hoo, hath two such mouthes, . . . the one of which

* Rev. Daniel H. Haigh in *Archæologia Cantiana*, VIII., 172.
† *History of the English People*, chap. i., sect. 2, p. 7.
‡ Edition of 1596, page 257.

opening into the Thamyse is called the *North Yenlet*, notable for the greatest oisters and flounders; and the other receauing the fall of Medway, is called *Colemouth*."

The father of Kentish History thus reminds us that the name of *Genlade* (corrupted into *Yenlade* and *Yenlet*) was common to the northern mouths of two streams, which separated the Isles of Grain and Thanet, respectively, from the adjacent mainland. For the meaning and derivation of this name *Genlade*, we must look to a modern authority, in preference to Lambarde. One of the best guides in such matters is the Rev. W. W. Skeat, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge University, who says:—

"The Anglo-Saxon *genlade* or *genhlade*, means *a discharging*, or the disemboguing of a river into the sea, or of a smaller river into a larger one. More literally still, it is a *gain-loading* (*i.e.* an unloading), and is derived* from the verb *lâdan* or *hlâdan*, to load or lade."

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us what use was made of this *Genlade*, or North Mouth, of the Wantsum. That Chronicle, for the year 1052, narrates how Harold, and his father (Earl Godwin) with a great fleet, went from Dover to Sandwich; "and then they went to North-mouth, and so toward London; and some of the ships went within Shepey and there did much harm."

This *route* to London, from Sandwich, is known, with certainty, to have been that customarily used. So common was it that either Stonore, or less probably Sandwich, was sometimes called Lundenwic; and the whole water-way between Sandwich and London was occasionally spoken of as the Thames. The Corporation of London, as we have seen, at one time claimed jurisdiction over Stonore, as a seaport subject to the City of London. Any minute and detailed mention, however, of the salient points in this marine *route* to London, shewing that its course ran between Thanet and the mainland, and expressly mentioning its passage out at North-mouth, is extremely rare. Scarcely any other description is to be found, so full as that above quoted, from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *ad annum* 1052.

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. IX., p. 114.

This almost complete absence of such full description during the long period of thirteen, or fourteen, centuries for which that route was in use, arises from the universality of the custom, and from its being well known to all contemporaries, so that no other route suggested itself to their minds.* When however we remember this, we can see allusions to the fact in more general statements.

Stow, the chronicler, says that in A.D. 1269, the river Thames being frozen, from St. Andrews-tide to Candlemas merchandize from Sandwich was obliged to be taken to London *by land*, instead of by sea.† Here we find an allusion to a casual interruption of the customary marine route through the Wantsum and North-mouth. In the 48th of Ed. III (1374-5) Commissioners (named Belknappe, Dyggs and Horne) were appointed to survey the banks "betwixt Gravesend and Shepey, and thence *to Reculvre and so to Sandwich*, Dovor, &c."‡ Here is a most evident allusion to the customary route for ships from London, to go in at Reculver and come out at Sandwich, having sailed between Thanet and the mainland.

The entire course of this route, as far as Northmouth

* Isaac Taylor's notes upon the names of places which lie upon the border of Thanet are so useful that we quote them in his own words :—

"The ISLE OF THANET was formerly as much an island as the Isle of Sheppey is at the present time. Ships bound up the Thames used ordinarily to avoid the perils of the North Foreland by sailing through the channel between the island and the mainland, entering by Sandwich and passing out by Reculver near Herne Bay. SANDWICH or 'sandy-bay' was then one of the chief ports of debarkation; but the sands have filled up the 'wick' or bay, the ancient port is now a mile and a half distant from high water mark; and the ruins of Rutupiæ now Richborough, the port where the Roman fleets used to be laid up are now surrounded by fine pastures. EBBSFEET which is now half a mile from the shore was a port in the 12th century, and its name indicates the former existence of a 'tidal channel' at the spot. The Celtic name of DURLOCK, more than a mile from the sea, means 'Water lake,' and indicates the process by which the estuary was converted into meadow. This navigable channel, which passed between the Isle of Thanet and the mainland, has been silted up by the deposits brought down by the river Stour. STOURMOUTH (the name, be it noted, is English, not Anglo-Saxon) is now four miles from the sea, and marks the former embouchure of this river. CHISELET, close by, was once a shingle islet *(cheselea)*; and five miles farther inland, the name of FORDWICH, the 'bay *(wic)* on an arm of the sea *(fiord)*,' proves that in the time of the Danes the estuary must have extended nearly as far as Canterbury. Beyond Canterbury is OLANTIGH, anciently Olantige, whose name shews that in Saxon times it must have been an island." *Words and Places*, 5th edition, pp. 236-237.

† Furley's *Weald of Kent*, ii., 111.

‡ Rot. Pat. 48 Ed. III, part i, M. 30 dorso. Dugdale's *History of Imbanking*, p. 45.

was technically within the liberty of the town or port of Sandwich. Sir Stephen de Pencestre, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports from 1267 to 1283, made an official perambulation of the boundaries, attended by the mayor and other officials. The record of the route and of the boundaries runs thus :*—

"First, beginning at the Stone Cross, at the west part of the town, near the causeway or common road between Sandwich and Ech, which cross is within the liberty; and from thence going along *close by the river side, to Northmouth*, everywhere by the line of high water mark, at spring tide; and then returning along the other margin of the river on the opposite side, through Sarr and Boxley in Thanet, to the shore at the passage directly against the cross of Hennebergh; and from that cross straight on the opposite side to the sea; and thence along the sea shore to Stonore, including the whole town of Stonore and the marshes within Hennebergh which are within the precinct of the liberty aforesaid; and on the other side of the river, crossing over to Peperness, and thence to a stream that runs into the river called the Gestling, by the *thief downs, where persons condemned within the liberty are buried alive;* and so going along that stream to a marsh called Holbergh, belonging to the lord of Poldre," etc., etc.

The mention of the stipulation that *high water mark at spring tide* should form the boundary line, reminds us of the nature of such tidal estuaries as the Wantsum. Their beds being to a great extent flat, not shelving until the mid channel is approached, a vast expanse of them lies dry for many hours in the day, and the distance between high water mark and low water mark is often very great. This is alluded to in King Cnut's grant of the Port of Sandwich to Christ Church Canterbury, in A.D. 1023.† It defines the limits of that convent's rights, to extend on both sides of the river (from Peperness to Mearcsflete) to such a point on shore as could be reached by a small axe, thrown from a vessel afloat *at high water*, when it could come much nearer to the shore than it could at low water.

Sandwich attained its importance as a port, solely from

* Boys' *History of Sandwich*, p. 536.
† Kemble's *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, No. 737.

its position at the mouth of the Wantsum estuary. When that estuary began to be difficult for navigation, Sandwich began to decay. The nature of the estuary may perhaps be understood better by comparison with estuaries now in existence. Take for instance the river Swale, an estuary which flows between Shepey and the mainland. It is crossed by ferries at Harty and Elmley, and at low water its channel is very narrow, yet at high water it has a breadth of at least three-quarters of a mile, and in some parts is much wider. A very great, important, and heavy traffic is borne by it; yet at some states of the tide, daily, a light ferry boat cannot approach near enough to hard ground for passengers to embark, and they are carried on men's shoulders into the boat. During the greatest portion of each day, for miles, those creeks or channels are dry, by which at flood-tide heavy and valuable traffic is carried to and from Faversham, Sittingbourne, and Milton.

These points must be borne carefully in mind when we come to enquire at what period the Wantsum estuary became impassable for navigation. When Thomas of Elmham, in or about 1414, drew and coloured the map of Thanet, which he prefixed to his History of St. Augustine's Abbey, he represented the Wantsum as being still a continuous stream, from Sandwich to Northmouth, although he depicts such a scene, at Sarre Ferry, as may now be found needful every day on the navigable river Swale, at the Ferries of Harty and Elmley. He shews the ferry boat standing in shallow water, and a passenger being carried to it on a man's shoulders. Seventy years elapse, after Thomas of Elmham's map was made, and we find written records of the state of the Wantsum, in the year 1485. The Act of Parliament, sanctioned by Henry VII, which permitted the erection of a bridge at Sarre Ferry, especially stipulates that it must be constructed "of suche resonable length, hyght, and large space betwene the arches therof, so that botes and lyghters may pass to and fro, under the same, at eny time hereafter, when the water shall happen to encrease and be sufficient for such botes or lyghters to passe there." At that time, it appears that the ferry boat at Sarre could still

be used for about one hour each tide, at high spring floods. The description given in the Act of Parliament is so interesting that we will quote it, as printed by the Rev. W. Campbell in his *Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII*, p. 184.

"Forasmuch as the Isle of Tenet, in the county of Kent, lying upon the high see on the east and north parties thereof, and to the ryver of salt water ledyng from a place called Northmouthe, joinyng to the see, to a place within the said shire called Sarre, and from thence to the toune and haven of Sandewich in the shyre, and so forthe to the see on the west and south parties of the said isle, out of tyme of mynde hath be closed and invironed with the said see and ryver, at which place called Sarre, by all the said tyme hath be had and used a passage and a ferry, called Sarre Ferry, over the said ryver, by a boate called a ferryboate, oute of the said isle into the countrey of the said shyre of Kent, next adjoynyng, and from thens into the said isle, for all manner of persones, beastes, corne, and other thinges to passe and be conveyed att all seasons to and fro the same isle and countrey. . . .

"It is so nowe that by the chaunge of the cours of the see whiche hath fortuned, in yeres late passed, the said ryvere at the said place called Sarre, where the said fery and passage so was had and used, is so swared, growen, and hyghed with wose, mudde, and sande, that nowe no fery or other passage may be there, nor in any other place nygh adjoyning and convenyent, to nor fro the said isle by bote or otherwise, butt onely at high sprynge flodes, and that not passynge an houre at a tyde to the greate hurte and impoverysshement of the possessioners, landholders, and owners, and inhabitants of the said isle and cuntrey."

We observe that this Bill, passed in 1485, says, "the change of the course of the see hath fortuned in years late passed;" it was therefore a recent change, and we may fairly infer that the "years late passed" would not extend beyond a quarter of a century. Thus we may well believe that during the reign of Henry VI and up to about A.D. 1460, the river Wantsum was tolerably navigable. The ferry boat at Sarre, as Twine tells us, was a horse-ferry boat, not a mere little rowing boat for pedestrians.* Yet,

* *De Rebus Albionicis*, p. 27: "Hippagine parata, portitor vehebat volentes transmittere."

even in 1485, this horse-ferry boat could be used there at high spring floods for an hour; and in the reign of Henry VIII, after Sarre Bridge had been built, Leland testifies that "at Northmuth, where the Entery of the Se was, the Salt Water swelleth yet up, at a Creeke, a myle and more toward a place cawled Sarre, which was the commune Ferry when Thanet was full iled."* John Twine, in his treatise, "*De Rebus Albionicis*," which was published in 1590, after his death, by his son Thomas, laments over the submersion of *Lomea*, Earl Godwin's once fertile land,† now called the Goodwin Sands, and over the annexation of Thanet to the mainland. Yet, he adds, although "Thanet has been changed from an isle into a peninsula, or Chersonesus, there are eight worthy men still living who have seen not only the smallest boats, but larger barks, frequently pass and repass between that isle and our continent."‡ He describes the Wantsum as having been about half-a-mile wide, with two horns or heads opening into the sea, one near Reculver, the other near Richboro'.§ As Leland tells us that, even in the reign of Henry VIII, the salt water ran from Northmuth more than a mile towards Sarre, so he mentions one great cause of the stoppage of the sea at the other end of the estuary. Speaking of Sandwich he says, "The Caryke, that was sonke in the haven in Pope Paulus tyme, did much hurt to the haven and gether a great bank." This Paulus must have been Paul II (1464–71), not as Hasted says, Paul IV, for he did not become Pope until 1555, during Queen Mary's reign. Boys alludes to this "Caryke," when he tells us that in the first year of King Richard III, a Spanish ship lying outside Richborough was (by the mayor of Sandwich) ordered to be removed.‖ Thus everything tends to shew that not very long before 1485 had the waterway of the

* Leland's *Itinerary*, Appendix to 7th volume of *Collectanea*, tom. iii. Lewis's *History of Tenet*, p. 140.

† *De Rebus Albionicis*, pp. 24, 27.

‡ Thanatos enim nostro ferè euo, ex insula facta est peninsulæ sive *Chersonesus*, superantibus adhuc octo fide dignis viris, qui non modo cymbas minutiores, verumetiam grandiores nauiculas, onerariasque measse ac remeasse inter insulam & nostram continentem, frequente nauigatione vidisse se aiunt, pp. 25, 26.

§ *De Rebus Albionicis*, p. 26.

‖ Boys' *History of Sandwich*, p. 678.

Wantsum been much interrupted. This view is corroborated by the fact that Cardinal Morton was the first Archbishop who took advantage of the subsidence of the Wantsum, by enclosing with sea-walls the saltings in and near Sarre.* The old and curious proverb respecting Tenterden Steeple points to the same period. There is no satisfactory solution of the supposed connection between Goodwin Sands and that steeple; nor between it and the decay of Sandwich Haven. It is however certain that there must have been some *coincidence of time*, between the erection of that steeple, and the change in Sandwich Haven. Mr. Hazlitt quotes the proverb in this form—

> Of many people it hath been said
> That Tenterden steeple Sandwich haven hath decayed.†

To the period of decay this proverb certainly gives a good clue, and that clue points to the period, already mentioned, which intervened between 1460 and 1485. Tenterden Steeple was in course of erection during 1462, as we are informed by the wills of Thomas Petlesden, and others, made in that year, by which bequests were left to the cost of its building. In the year 1467 we observe another evidence that the waterway, though still continuous from Sandwich to Northmouth, was becoming difficult of navigation. In that year an order was served on the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the Abbot of St. Augustine's, on John Isaac and on Herbert Fynch, requesting them to remove their weirs, groynes, and kidel-nets, which were in the King's river, from Sandwich Haven to Northmouth (Boys' *Sandwich*, p. 675). Thus we may fairly consider that the entire waterway was open until 1450 or 1460, but that it became, gradually from that period, less and less navigable.

* Hasted, *History of Kent*, vol. x. p. 158.

† *Archæologia Cantiana*, IX. 142; *Lottery* of 1567; Kempe's *Losely Papers*, 1836, p. 211. Bishop Latimer, Fuller the historian, Leland, and Dr. Plot all quote the proverb respecting the Goodwin or Sandwich.

Minster Court.

The Court, or Manor House, of Minster Manor, occupies the site of Edburga's Monastery of Saints Peter and Paul, as Thomas of Elmham informs us.* Upon his map of Thanet, drawn about A.D. 1414, he marks this site as being not far distant from St. Mary's Church, to the north-east of it. The sole reason of his mentioning this place with any minuteness of detail, was his desire to defend the Augustinian stories, respecting the translations of St. Mildred's body, against the sceptical statements of the monks of St. Gregory, who declared that every one of the details set forth respecting St. Mildred and Minster Abbey were mere fabrications. Elmham therefore felt bound to shew that everything was quite clear, and that all dates and details were perfectly known. Thus, he declares that St. Mildred's body, having been translated from St. Mary's Nunnery to this new site, dedicated to Saint Peter and Paul, remained here more than 300 years. As, according to him, her remains were translated to Canterbury in A.D. 1030,† he thus assigns the foundation of this monastery, of Saint Peter and Paul, to some year slightly anterior to A.D. 730. In order that he may utterly confound the Gregorians, he clenches his statements by declaring that when he wrote, in 1414, the shrine *(feretrum)* in which St. Mildred's body had been entombed, from A.D. 730 to A.D. 1030, was still "apparent" here, even in A.D. 1414! That nothing may be lacking from his circumstantial statement, he imparts to us the fact that the Abbess Edburga, a little before A.D. 730, placed St. Mildred's body here in a new sarcophagus, on the north side of the presbytery.‡ He was fully prepared

* "Templum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, *quod nunc est in manerio*, ubi usque in præsens feretrum, in quo plusquam trecentis annis jacuit est apparens." *Historia Monasterii Sci. Augustini Cantuar. edit. C. Hardwick*, p. 218.

† *Ibidem*. Chronologia, page 25. *Decem Scriptores*, column 2246.

‡ *Hist. Mon. Sci. Augustini*, p. 219: "Beata vero Edburga, immensas gratias agens Deo, inclytam glebam a priori domicilio sanctæ Mariæ et sepulchro sustulit, et in novum apostolorum templum transposuit, atque in aquilonari parte presbyterii in novo sarcophago recondidit." These words, I find, are quoted almost *verbatim* from the older work of Gotselinus, "*Vita Sæ Mildrethe*," Harleian MS. 3908, folio 34 b.

for doubts which might be expressed respecting the possibility of any building, or monument, surviving the ravages of time, and of the Danes, from A.D. 730 to 1030. He distinctly states that the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul was burned by the Danes, and that the last Abbess Selethrytha with all her nuns perished in the flames, about A.D. 830, or 840. He declares that during those 300 years (730 to 1030) scarcely any man had dared to remain in the island of Thanet on account of the Danish ravages; therefore, he says, it is not matter for wonder that no vestiges of the ancient buildings have remained to modern times. In fact, he says, the original edifices, not only of ecclesiastical but even of domestic or "vulgar" buildings, have disappeared.* These facts, however, simply increase the sanctity of Saint Mildred. While all other buildings and monuments disappeared, during the long period of desolation, when there was here neither Abbey, nor Abbess, nor Nuns, yet the shrine and remains of St. Mildred were always preserved; in fact, he avers that the tomb still remained, when he wrote, in A.D. 1414. Unfortunately, readers in the nineteenth century, while readily believing Elmham's statements respecting the utter destruction of domestic and ecclesiastical buildings, between A.D. 730 and 1030, will not easily credit the miraculous exception, which he was so anxious to establish; but which his contemporaries, the monks of St. Gregory, so emphatically denied.

It is utterly vain to suppose that any visible vestige remains of the buildings which were erected here about A.D. 730, but which were burnt and desolated about A.D. 830, or 840. When King Cnut gave the manor of Minster and the body of St. Mildred to St. Augustine's Abbey, in A.D. 1027, his charter mentions no buildings whatever. Without doubt the Abbot then made the Court, or Manor house, a habitable building. If there be here visible any pre-Norman masonry, it must be ascribed to the Augustinian monks of the eleventh century.

What lies beneath the surface of the ground is quite

* *Hist. Mon. Sci. Augustini*, p. 220.

another matter. In dry summers, long lines of yellow turf appear upon the verdant lawn of Minster Court. These extend themselves parallel to the main building (which contains the living-rooms of the house) between it and the high road. They thus indicate foundations of walls, that formed a building the length of which ran from west to east, and extended eastward from the, existing, ruined stair turret, on the south west, to the further portion of the lawn. Tradition has called these unseen foundations, traces of the church of the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul; and Lewis has marked them with dotted lines, upon the engraving of Minster Manor House which he gives opposite page 71, in his *History of Tenet.*

We have said that to Thomas of Elmham we are indebted, for the identification of the site of the convent dedicated to Saint Peter and Paul. He wrote after William Thorn, whose confused statements* would have left us utterly unable to distinguish between the sites of the two convents; one dedicated by Dompneva to St. Mary, about A.D. 670, and the other dedicated, by Edburga, to Saints Peter and Paul, about A.D. 730. Thomas of Elmham likewise disentangles, for us, the vague and unsatisfactory statements of Thorn respecting the Abbesses. Thorn mentions five Abbesses; Dompneva, Mildred, Edburga, Sigeburga, and Seledritha; and then he leaps over two hundred years, saying that he can find no mention whatever of the Abbesses who succeeded Seledritha, until the eleventh century, when Sweyn, father of King Cnut, destroyed all Thanet and Leofrima the Abbess here.† This statement has misled Lewis, who, endeavouring to amalgamate it with the more veracious

* Illa ecclesia quam construxit beata Edburga, in honorem Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in quam post aliquos annos transtulit corpus beatæ Mildredæ totum integrum et incorruptum, et illud ad partem aquilonalem in feretro collocavit, *est inferior pars versus occidentem capellæ manerii nostri de Menstre*, in qua sepulcrum ejusdem virginis apparet. Quæ ecclesia *immediate est conjuncta capellæ beatæ Mariæ* virginis, quam beata Dompneua, ut super legitur, fieri procuravit (Thorn's Chronicle in *Decem Scriptores*, column 1908).

Ipsa vero Dompneua . . . . construxit cœnobium virginale, videlicet manerium de Menstre et *superiorem partem capellæ in eodem manerio* quam in honore beatæ Mariæ virginis S. Theodorus archiep. dedicavit *(Ibidem*, col. 1907.

† Thorn's *Chronicle* in *Decem Scriptores*, column 1908.

history of Thomas of Elmham, states that when the fifth Abbess Seledritha was burned circa 830, or 840, with her nuns, one named Leofrima was saved, and becoming sixth Abbess was captured by Sweyn the Dane in A.D. 978 or 1011.* Thus at the top of his page, Lewis mentions that Seledritha became the fifth Abbess in A.D. 797, and yet in the middle of the same page, he says that a sixth Abbess, in A.D. 978, or 1011, was saved from the fire in which her predecessor perished! By Thorn's confused statements, Lewis is thus misled into giving to one of these ladies a life of more than 200 years' duration. Thomas of Elmham corrects all this; he states, distinctly, that there were but five Abbesses at Minister: their number being exactly the same as that of the wise virgins in the parable, whom doubtless they so greatly resembled.† We cannot doubt that after the middle of the ninth century, there was neither Abbess, nor Convent, nor Nuns in Minster.‡ For one hundred and fifty years or more the sites of the conventual building were desolate.

The origin of Thorn's statement may be traced thus. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle narrates that in September, A.D. 1011, between the Nativity of St. Mary and St. Michael's

* Lewis' *History of Tenet*, p. 57., see also pp. 58 and 20.

† *Hist. Mon. Sci. Augustini*, p. 226. Harum itaque matrum monasterialium numerus in Thaneto, numero quinque prudentum virginum accipientium oleum in vasis suis, cum lampadibus, respondebat.

‡ The ninth century was a period of terror, destruction, and desolation for the people of East Kent, and especially for Thanet. In A.D. 823, Baldred king of Kent was driven from his little realm, and the men of Kent submitted to Ecgbert King of the West Saxons. The Danes "those vultures of prey" plundered Shepey in 832. In the following years they fought with King Ecgbert in the west. When he died in 836 Ecgbert's son, Æthelwulf, made his own son Æthelstan King of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex; and, two years later, the Danes slew many men in Kent and other counties. In 839 they slew great numbers in Cwentawic, Rochester and London. According to the Saxon Chronicle, and Fabius Ethelwerd, the Danes wintered in the Isle of Thanet, in 851, for the first time. Asser and Florence of Worcester are clearly incorrect in writing Shepey instead of Thanet. All these chroniclers, with others, agree that, in 851, 350 Danish ships came into the Thames mouth (that is Sandwich Harbour and the Wantsum estuary) and proceeded to destroy Canterbury and London. They add that king Æthelstan, and Ealhere, the earl or caldorman, destroyed many of the Pagans at Sandwich, and took nine of their ships. Fabius Ethelwerd gives the additional information that many battles were fought in the same year (851) against the Pagans in the Isle of Thanet which, says he, has very fruitful, though not large, cornfields. In 853, as all chronicles declare, the earls Ealhere and Huda carried on war, vigorously, against the Pagan army in Thanet; but they were both slain. In 855 the Danes wintered in Shepey. In 864-6 having wintered in Thanet they laid waste the whole of the east coast of Kent.

Mass, the Danes besieged and entered Canterbury. There they captured Archbishop Ælfeah, Ælfward the King's steward, the Abbess Leofrune, and Bishop Godwin. With this narrative agree the Chronicle of Melrose, and the Annals of Waverley. Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, and Gervase narrate additional particulars. They say that the city of Canterbury was set on fire; that Almar, or Elmer, Abbot of St. Augustine's, was allowed to depart, but that Godwin, Bishop of Rochester, and Leofruna, Abbess of St. Mildrith's Monastery, were taken prisoners, together with countless people of both sexes. These statements are copied by all the later historians. We at once observe that the original narratives make no mention whatever of Minster, no mention of Thanet, no mention of the Monastery of St. Mary, no mention of the Monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul. The earliest chronicles simply state that Canterbury was burnt, and that in Canterbury a certain Abbess, named Leofrune, was taken prisoner; the later chronicles add that she was Abbess of St. Mildred's Monastery; none of them suggest that she had any connection with Thanet, or with Minster, or with the Monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul there. Gotselinus, in his Life of St. Mildred, mentions no Abbess after Seledritha. Thomas of Elmham is therefore a wise historian, when he refuses to regard this Leofrune as an Abbess of Minster Monastery. He declares that at Minster there were but five Abbesses; and that Seledritha, the last of them, became Abbess in A.D. 797. His less accurate predecessor Thorn, when claiming Leofrune, who was captured at Canterbury, as an Abbess of the Minster Monastery, of St. Peter and St. Paul, confesses that he can find no mention of any Abbesses who intervened between her and Seledritha during one hundred and fifty years.

Gotselinus, in his *Vita Sce. Mildrethe*, enumerates the successful efforts of Seledritha (the last Abbess) to restore her Nunnery to its pristine glory, in words which are quoted with sufficient accuracy by Thomas of Elmham.* The results thus achieved were, however, destroyed, he says, by

* *Hist. Mon. Sci. Aug.*, p. 221, § 31.

the ravages of a pagan army, with a huge Danish fleet, overwhelming all Thanet and much of England. In addition to the words used by Thomas of Elmham, which are mainly quoted from the Life of St. Mildred, Gotselinus adds, "the waves of this pagan army closed over the apostolic ship of the virginal temple of St. Mildreth,"* which was thus drowned and destroyed by its ravages. Gotselinus does not, like Thomas of Elmham, § 32, fix the exact date or year when this occurred, but he describes at far greater length the end of Seledritha, her nuns and her priests clad in their sacred vestments, all of whom shut themselves up (in the Conventual Church apparently) and died together. When, in course of time, some fugitive inhabitants of Thanet returned to their island, they rebuilt their own dwellings, but from the monastic ruins they were unable to construct anything better than a small parish church. Not until St. Augustine's Abbey became owners of the manor was any considerable restoration effected.† Of the buildings existing when the Abbot came to steal away the body of St. Mildred for translation, in A.D. 1030, Gotselinus speaks thus: "Ælfstan . . . . in Tanetum beate Mildrethe *hospicium* . . . . die pentecostes peruenit."‡ On the next page he says that with a chosen band of monks and knights the Abbot "gloriose Mildrethe ecclesiam tanquam suam capellam intrat. Hostia intrinsecus diligenter obfirmat et quasi cuncta sibi in manus data exultat."

On a later page Gotselinus describes the ruinous state of the "templum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli" after William the Conqueror had ordered Thanet to be laid waste.§

* *Harl. MS.* 3908, folio 54ᵃ, and *Cotton. MS.* Vespasian B. xx., folio 169ᵃ, "ipsamque apostolicam nauim uirginalis templi beate Mildrethe suis fluctibus operit."

† "De hinc conuenientes tecta monasterii beate Mildrethe restaurant; quod tamen ad pristinam dignitatem nequaquam ultra conualuit; sed quod pridem ter uiginti aut amplius sanctimonialium pollebat caterua, deinceps duorum aut trium clericorum plebeia erat parrochia. Jamque ibi hesperie Mildrethe factum [est] vesperie ut apud amantissimum patronum Augustinum renascenti surgeret sollferum mane." *Harl. MS.* 3908, fol. 55ᵇ (wherein [est] is omitted after "factum"), and *Cotton. MS.* Vespasian B. xx., fol. 170ᵇ.

‡ *Harl. MS.* 3908, 62ᵃ; *Cotton. MS.* Vesp. B. xx., 174ᵇ.

§ *Ibid.*, 3908, 72ᵃ; *Ibid.*, Vesp., 180ᵃ. Jusserat prior Willelmus rex totum uastari Tanetum ne foret presidio imminenti exercitui Danorum. Hinc illud sacratissimum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac uirginei monumenti

At Minster Court the principal remains now existing are clearly those of the Norman Manor house, as renovated, in the reigns of Henry IV and V, by Thomas Hunden, Abbot of St. Augustine's. His initials, flanking the arms of the Abbey, are still to be seen over the north door, or principal entrance of the house. Other examples of his work are the good transom'd windows, each of two lights, which remain in the east and west walls of the western wing, on the ground floor. By their position, they are at present hidden from observation more than they deserve to be, but the modern architect, who designed the new windows of the house, took those of Abbot Hunden as his model; although he did not reproduce them very accurately. In Abbot Hunden's windows, the two lower lights, each 2 ft. 11 in. high, are trefoiled, while the two lights above the transom, each 2 ft. 9 in. high, are five-foiled. Each light is 1½ ft. wide in the clear. Probably Abbot Hunden put on the present, king-post, roof of the main building (the north limb); but, no doubt, it has been repaired, and altered, since his time.

When we walk above the tie-beams of this roof, and reach the eastern gable of the house, we see a late Norman window, with shafts supporting a round moulding. Through it, as a door, we can step out upon the leaden roof of a lower adjunct to the main building. This Norman window in the gable reminds us that Abbot Hunden simply re-arranged, and repaired, an older Norman building. When we examine the main, or northern, limb of the house, we find clear evidence that it was originally only one room deep. Its north and south walls seem to have been, externally, exactly alike. High up in each there were four Norman windows; below them runs a Norman stringcourse, and between the windows there were four shallow Norman buttresses. There were, no doubt, Norman doorways in exactly the same places where the existing doorways now stand. Several of the windows and buttresses still remain, and

templum uetustate & rarioris plebis negligentia iam erat desolatum; atque ad omnem celi iniuriam disruptis tegulis patebat detectum, sacrumque, panimentum pluuia grando nix ac parcellosus impetens palustrem reddebat lacum.

anyone, who is familiar with the western face of Monks Horton Priory, will recognize the similarity of appearance which must have existed between these two buildings, in the twelfth century. It is likely that this north limb of Minster Court was erected between A.D. 1150 and A.D. 1175.

When we turn to the western wing, we see that there, probably, some older work is before us. In the eastern face of this wing we find no large round-headed windows, in the upper story; but we see that light was originally admitted through small rectangular openings (not very much larger than slits) which had flat lintels formed of large, but thin, unwrought sand-stones. These openings or windows have been, long ago, blocked up, and modern windows have been inserted. Four hundred and fifty years ago, Abbot Hunden found it needful to insert his transom'd, two-light, windows in the lower story.

At the south end of this western wing are the remains of a large tower or turret which projects eastward considerably beyond the level of the west wing. Before describing it we must notice a blocked-up Norman doorway, in the east wall of this wing, which stands adjacent to the turret. This doorway has a flat wooden lintel, above which is a semi-circular head, filled in with wrought stone. Close beside the northern jamb of this doorway there is, about four feet from the ground, a very small Norman window, its round head formed of one stone, and its external aperture being but nine inches wide. Above the south jamb of the adjacent doorway, there are, in the angle formed by the turret and the west wing, some few quoin stones which suggest the idea of "long and short work," but they are too few to dwell upon.

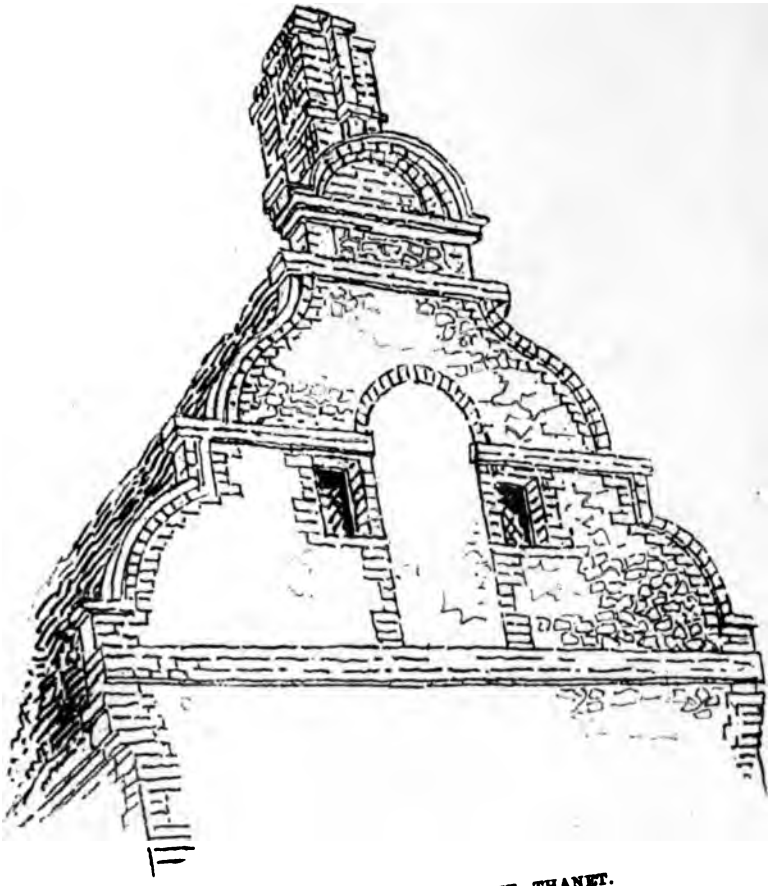
Entering the west wing, we find that the blocked doorway, with its wooden lintel, was the entrance to a vaulted passage of three bays (the western of the three is half destroyed). The little window, beside the doorway, is deeply splayed, so that its internal aperture is much larger than its external opening. The Norman groining is of the simplest kind possible, formed of round arches intersecting, without ribs or bosses. The supporting piers are doubly recessed.

The height of the groining from the floor is about 9 feet 11 inches; the spring of the arches is about 5 feet 1 inch from the present floor, and their span is about 7 feet. Possibly this vaulting may have been erected late in the eleventh century. Its principal portion now forms a wine cellar. On the exterior of the western wall of this wing, of the building, Mr. Hussey tells me that he, many years ago, saw traces of something like herring-bone masonry.

The south-west turret or tower, has contained a circular stair, in its eastern end. The stair-turret was lined with smoothly hewn white stone. The newel and steps are completely gone; possibly the newel, and fragments of the stairs, form part of the turret staircase at St. Mary's Church. On the eastern wall of Minster-Court turret are the traces of an external Norman arcading; and in the centre of the existing arch of this arcading there is a very small Norman window, the round head of which is formed of one stone. There is no tradition or record of any bells here; nor could any of the existing bells in St. Mary's Church have come hence. The oldest of the church bells is inscribed "HOLY MARE (*sic*) PRAY FOR VS;" not, as I supposed, *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis.*

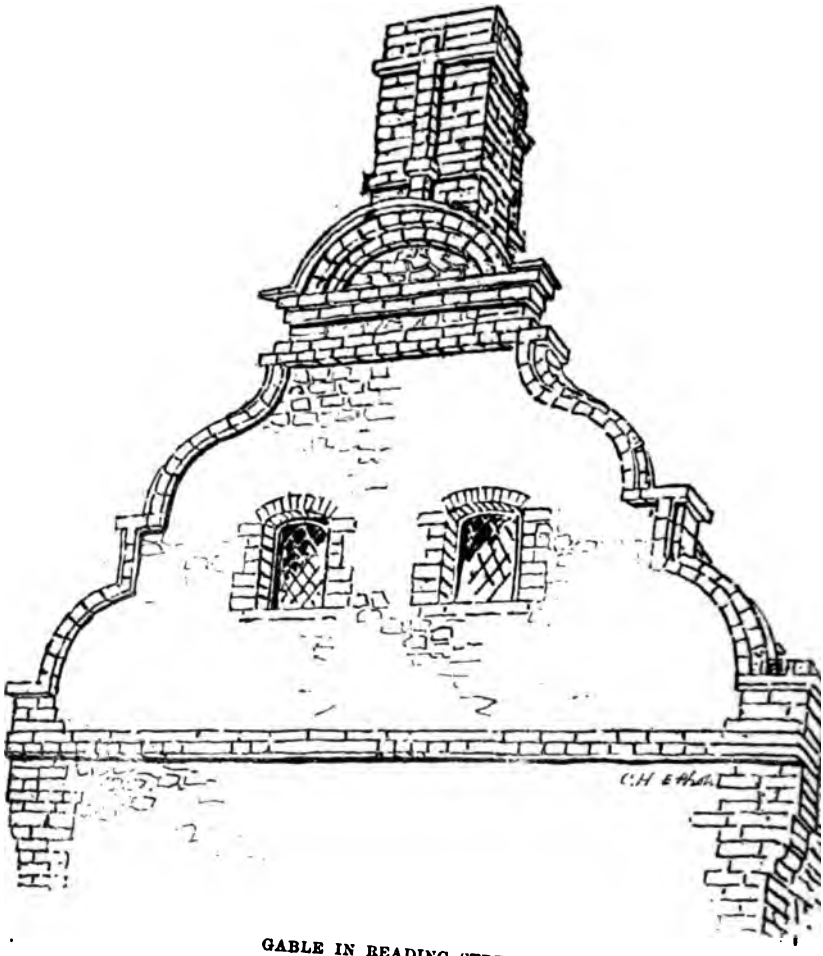
On the western side of this tower or turret, we find erected as an arch in the garden, a sixteenth century chimney piece, brought, it is said, from the Refectory, and, over it, a remarkable Norman carving in stone, which seems to represent St. Augustine in the act of benediction. This came out of the interior of the building at some time, and is very early work.

On the western side of the ruined tower, or turret, are traces of masonry in alternate courses, of flints and rough local stone. Lewis's engraving represents the southern face of this tower as exhibiting a similar construction (in alternate courses of flint and other stone) upon its whole surface. The ivy now covers that masonry. Undoubtedly this tower is of early date, and I am inclined to ascribe it to the first half of the eleventh century. We are, however, very much in the dark with regard to buildings of pre-Norman date. It is not improbable that the earlier masonry, of the tower



GABLE END IN READING STREET, THANET.

SECULAR ASIA UNITE



GABLE IN READING STREET, THANET.

and turret, was cased and ornamented in the Norman period, as the mural arcading, and the fair lining of the stair-turret appear to be later work.

Being the court-house, and the receiving-house of so large and wealthy a manor as that of Minster, this building was probably the most important house in the Isle of Thanet, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. Its ancient barn, 352 feet long, was not entirely destroyed until A.D. 1700, when lightning consumed its last remnant.

In Minster village there are several houses, built of brick in the time of Charles II or of William III, which have such prettily curved gable ends, as were characteristic of the Caroline reigns in England. Perhaps there is no part of Kent which retains, within an equally small area, so many examples of these graceful gables, as does the Isle of Thanet. The ingenuity and taste of Thanet architects seem to have produced a great variety of designs for such gables by means of trifling additions, and small variations of detail. Through the generous kindness of Mr. J. P. Seddon, of 1 Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster, we are enabled to illustrate several varieties of these pretty Thanet gables of the curved type. Near Minster Vicarage, is an old house with two such gables, which bear the initials, in iron, R. K., and the date 1693. As the lane in which this house stands was called Kennett's Lane, there can be no doubt that the initials R. K. are those of Robert Kennett, who at that period was a large ratepayer in the parish, being assessed on one hundred and fifteen acres of land. When the house passed from Kennett to Thrum the lane became Thrum's Lane. We have no engraving of this Minster gable end, but the annexed plate, given by Mr. Seddon, shews a gable in Reading Street of somewhat similar character. The house inhabited by Dr. Harris in Minster has a similar gable; and the White Horse Inn, close to Minster churchyard, shews two such gables, one bearing the initials R. K., which are believed by Mr. Bubb to be memorials of Robert Knock, of Durlock Lane, who lived in the time of William III and Queen Anne, and was rated for one hundred and twenty acres of land.

One of the old parish Account Books, purchased an brought back to Minster by Mr. Bubb, contains seven entries of interest. One receipt, enclosed in the book, i probably unique, it reads thus:—

"Agvst the 18th 1654.

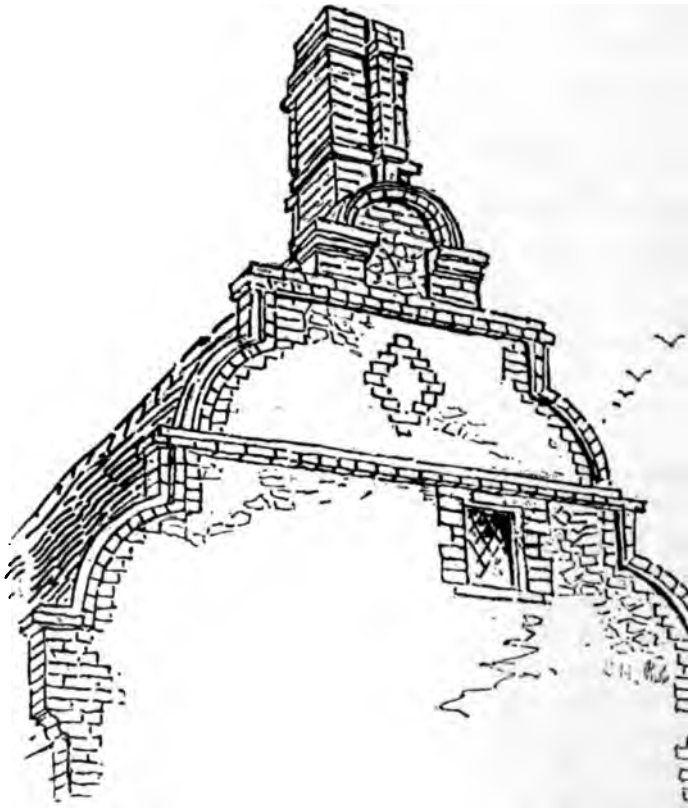
"Reseved of Robert Hvmmerden one of the Church warden of Minster for the Shreves nobelles for fover yeres dv at mikelm 1654 one yer for gorge Cvrtis his Esqeer and for Thomes fflode l Esqeer and for barnet Hide his Esqeer and for John Erell of Te hi shreves of Kent I say reseved the som of six and twenty shilen and Eyth pence I say reseved by me henry peeke bayle."

The writing of this receipt is extremely difficult to re It refers to the sum of six shillings and eight pence (whi was the value of the coin called a *noble*), to be paid annua by the parish of Minster, to each High Sheriff of Ke This receipt covers the four years during which Geo Curtis of Chart Sutton (1651), Thomas Floyd of Gore Co in Otham (1652), Bernard Hyde of Bore Place, Chidingsto (1653), and Sir John Tufton, Earl of Thanet (1654), ser the office of Sheriff. Perhaps no similar receipt has b preserved. The bailiff Henry Peeke was not peculiar in repetition of the words "received" and "I say;" in recei of that period, this curiously emphatic form is very f quently used. It seems to have been a stereotyped phr of this kind—"*Received* . . . . . *I say received* . . . . . *I received by me.*"

The Assessments for the Poor were levied both upon la and upon income, the latter being called an "ability rat In May, 1613, the rate on land was at 2s. per score of acr and the ability rate was such that William Binge p £2 18s. 0d. for five hundred and eighty acres, and 7s. for "ability." In 1614 the marsh land was rated at 2 the score acres, and the upland at 10d. the score, for t first half year, when the ability rate was half that of t previous year; but for the second half of 1614, the la was rated at 1d. per acre for marsh, and ½d. per acre f upland, the ability rate being larger than in the previo half year in the proportion of five to three. In 1618 t parishioners were rated on their ability simply, while t

GABLE END IN READING STREET, THANET.

PERMIAR ALIAUNIE



GABLE END AT READING STREET, THANET.

outdwelling ratepayers were charged ½d. per acre for marsh, and 5d. per score acres for upland. In 1619 all paid 1d. per acre for marsh and ½d. for upland, in addition to an ability rate. This method of rating continued for several years. In April, 1630, the ability rate was at 15d. per £20 of revenue, but in the following October it was at a groat in the pound for yearly revenue in the parish. Two rates on land per annum formed the average, but in 1626 there were four, and in 1631 there were six rates. During 1630 and 1631 there seems to have been a grievous dearth of corn. So great was the scarcity that the parish officers were obliged to purchase wheat and barley, which they sold to the poor at reduced prices. On the 14th of Nov., 1630, they bought twenty-one bushels of wheat at 5s. 5¾d., and the same quantity of barley at 4s. 0½d., but they sold the wheat to the poor at 4s. a bushel, and the barley at 3s. The scarcity increased, so that on the 26th of January, 1631, wheat was bought at 6s. 10¾d. the bushel, and sold at 6s., 5s. or 4s. according to the poverty of the recipient. The price paid for wheat on the 20th of February was 7s. 6d. the bushel, but it was sold to the poor exactly as before. On the 20th of March 8s. 10½d. per bushel was paid for wheat; in April the overseers bought five seams of wheat for £15, and five of barley for £9 5s. On the 26th of April they bought, of Peter Ambrose, twenty bushels of wheat at 70s. per quarter, and the same quantity of barley at 40s. per quarter. The height of the scarcity seems to have been reached when, on the 12th of May, 1631, they bought five quarters and one bushel of wheat at 72s. the quarter, and four quarters three bushels of barley at 40s. Hitherto they had uniformly sold wheat to the poor at 6s., 5s. or 4s. the bushel; but of this dearest purchase some wheat was sold to one person at 7s. the bushel, which seems to indicate that the poorer middle class had been reduced to extremity as well as the ordinary poor. The parish lost £10 12s. 4½d. upon this purchase of wheat and barley in May. On the 16th June the price of wheat had gone down to 58s. the quarter, and the parish lost only £2 4s. 10½d. upon 40 bushels (together) of wheat and barley. Yet, at the end of

June, they lost £2 18s. 3d. upon the same quantity, bou
at the same price. On the 25th of July they bought o
nineteen bushels of wheat at 50s. the quarter, and
£1 9s. 9d. upon the sale of them. It is strange t
Mockett had heard nothing of this dearth. He gives, in
Journal, pp. 11, 12, the prices of wheat for a great nun
of years, but omits all mention of the year 1631, and of
entire first half of the seventeenth century. His ta
shew that only in three of the years named by him did
price of wheat equal that paid by Minster overseers in J
1631. He says that in 1596 the price was £4; in 1
£5 4s.; and in 1662, £3 14s. per quarter.

This dearth during the end of 1630, and throughout
first six months of 1631, was productive of tumults in K
On the 6th of May, 1631, John Hales wrote from Tun
to his father Sir Edward Hales, in London, saying:—

"Mr Thornbury of Milton says that the women there, an
Sittingbourne, are so outrageous as except some speedy cours
taken mischief is feared. They band together, fifty or sixty,
rail at Mr Dowle and his colleague. If they meet with b
meal in a boat, they throw it away, saying they must have b
stuff."

The latter statement, shewing that the authori
proffered barley, for bread, to the poor, is illustrated by
accounts of the Minster overseers, who bought, in gene
as much barley as wheat. On the 11th of May corn r
occurred in Milton, Faversham, Canterbury, Herne,
Whitstable. No doubt the liberality of the Thanet o
seers prevented such outbreaks in this Island. The scar
had been anticipated. In May, 1629, a Royal Proclamat
forbad the export of corn from England. Twelve mon
later we hear (12th of April, 1630) that Dover mar
lacked wheat, to the evil of the poor, on account of
export from Margate and Sandwich. One Rickeses,
Dutchman at St. John's in Thanet, had transported th
hundred quarters of wheat since the previous Michaelm
Yet he refused to furnish two quarters in the score
relief of the poor.*

* *Dom. State Papers*, Charles I, vol. cxliv., No. 47.

The Minster overseers seem to have assisted the poor first with fuel. On Aug. 27, 1626, they bought for the poor four loads of wood (save four faggots) for 39s., and paid 4s. for carriage of the wood from the waterside. In Dec., 1630, they bought four bushels of coals at 8d. a bushel, half a chaldron for 11s. 2d., and half a load of wood for 5s. 6d., in addition to 36s. paid for "wood for the poor and for the carriage of it."

These Parish Accounts speak continually of the old Kentish measure called a "tovet" or "toffet," which was equivalent to a peck. In 1626 we read twice of a tovet of coals costing 6d. In 1628 one tovet of wheat cost 1s. 6d. A tovet of barley cost 1s. 3d.

In 1632 the largest ratepayers in Minster were Stephen Hunt (401 acres), John Turner (383), Edward Harnett (383), Wm. Skinner (371), Daniel Pamflett (281), Roger Omer (248), and Ed. Fuller (229).

In 1673-4 Minster was taxed for two hundred and eleven hearths or chimneys, in seventy-six houses; and eight other houses of poor persons were excused. The largest payers were Daniel Pamphlet, for ten hearths; Thomas Fuller, for nine; William Jenkins, for eight; and Thomas Russell, for six. Stephen Barbet was then bosholder.

Powcy's.

This farm's name is derived from that of a family, which possessed the land nearly 570 years ago, and from which came an Abbot of St. Augustine's. At Michaelmas, 1310, Thomas Poucyn and his wife Margeria, acquired 30 acres of land in Minster, 10s. of rent, 2 hens of rent, and the moiety of a messuage there.* Richard le Sherreve, son of Robert le Sherreve of Sheriff's Court, was the person from whom Thomas Poucyn obtained livery of those lands. In the following year he and his wife acquired further possessions in Minster. At Martinmas, 5 Edward II, Richard Deryng and Richard de Chelesfeud granted to them 2 messuages,

* *Kent Fines*, 4 Ed. II, No. 139.

120 acres of land, £8 of rent, and four hens of rent.* ' grant was limited in respect of future possessors. The l of Thomas Poucyn by Margeria, his wife, were to enjoy reversion; but if Margeria had no heirs by him, property was to pass to Johanna, wife of Baldwin Paas, to her heirs. Probably Margeria and Johanna were sis and coheiresses of this Minster property; they seem l wise to have jointly inherited a messuage and 24 acre land in Hackington and Westgate, Canterbury.†

In 1313, on the morrow of St. Andrew the Apo Thomas Poucyn and his wife Margeria, for themselves for Margery's heirs, made over to Ralph Abbot of Augustine's, and to his Church, for the sum of £20, 17 a 3 roods of land, and 6 acres of pasture in Minster.‡ ' transaction, I believe, marks the date of their son's ad tance into St. Augustine's Abbey, as a monk. Twenty- years later, the younger Thomas Poucyn was elected Al of St. Augustine's, in succession to Abbot Ralph,§ and formally "blessed," or admitted to his high office, at Court of Avignon on the 2nd of the Ides of June, 13 Thorn's *Chronicle* (column 2067 in X. *Script.*) tells us the of his journey. Starting on 4 Kal. April he reached Avig on the Vigil of St. George; the expenses of these three we and three days amounted to £21 18s. 11d. He spent Avignon £98 4s. 5d. On St. Lawrence's Day he started return home, and the return journey cost £28 0s. 8d. l long, however, did Abbot Poucyn enjoy his dignified positi he died on the Feast of St. Augustine's Translation, I of September, 1343, and was buried in the Abbey Chap at the Altar of St. Katherine, beneath a stone bearing effigy|| sculptured in brass. On his tomb were these words:

Est abbas Thomas tumulo presente reclusus
Qui vite tempus sanctos expendit in usus
Illustris senior, cui mundi gloria vilis
L.V. a primo pastor fuit huius ovilis.

Thorn's *Chronicle*, chap. xxxviii. col. 2081.

* *Kent Fines*, 5 Ed. II, No. 190. † *Kent Fines*, 5 Ed. II, No. 192.
‡ *Ibidem*, 7 Ed. II, No. 327. Thomas of Elmham's *History of St. Augusti Abbey*, page 60.
§ Thomas of Elmham's *History*, p. 63. || *Ibidem*, p. 64.

His father's house, "Powcy's," must have been a considerable mansion. Archbishop Reynolds granted to the elder Thomas Poucyn permission to cause Mass to be celebrated in this house. Hasted states that, about a hundred years ago there stood, beside "Powcy's" house, a small grove of oaks, the only oak grove in the Isle of Thanet.* He mentions the existence, formerly, of a gate-house there, at the entrance to the court before the mansion.† I find that, in 1330, Thomas Poucyn was one of the gentlemen appointed to collect, for the King, a Subsidy of one twentieth, which had been conceded to Edward III on the 8th of February, in the third year of his reign.

The Kent Fines for the fourth year of King John, shew that in November 1202, Joan, widow of Richard Pucin, had a freehold in Stalisfeld.‡ In the year 1277, Robert Poucyn became Proctor, at the Pontifical Court, for Christ Church, Canterbury, in succession to John of Battle, whose Italian debts he paid.§ About the same period, Robert and Alexander Pucyn were Proctors for Prior Ryngmer.‖ Another of the family is heard of in 1298, when Richard de Wilmington conceded to Thomas Pucyn,¶ and Joan his wife, a messuage, and 116 acres of land, in Muncketon, in Tanet; part to remain to the heirs of Thomas, part to the heirs of Joan, and a third portion (after Joan's death) to Henry, son of John de Maneston. Probably Thomas Poucyn, husband of Margeria, was a son of the last-mentioned Thomas and Joan; he seems to have obtained his property in Minster by marrying the coheiress of a Minster gentleman. It is just possible that Richard Sherreve may have been the father of his wife Margeria.

Hasted failed to trace the history of Powcy's further back than the time of Edward III, when, he says, it belonged to the family of Goshall of Ash. If so, they must have acquired it soon after the death of Thomas Poucyn, father of

* Hasted's *History of Kent*, x., 226. † *Ibidem*, p. 282.
‡ *Archæologia Cantiana*, III, 217.
§ *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Fifth Report, p. 451; *Ch. Ch. MS., Scrap Book*, C. 9.
‖ *Ibidem*, p. 438; *Ch. Ch. MS. Scrap Book*, C. 8a.
¶ *Lansdowne MSS.* 268, p. 270.

the Abbot. Perhaps Poucyn left a daughter who married a Goshall. As his son, the Abbot of St. Augustine's, died in 1343, this is not an improbable suggestion.

SALMESTON.

The interesting architectural remains at Salmeston, or Salmanston, Grange, within the parish of St. John's (Margate), are of at least three periods, the Early English, the Decorated, and the Perpendicular. Possibly a trace of Norman work remains in a small vaulted passage, on the ground floor.

The earliest external portion projects from the eastern face of the existing house, and shews a pointed gable having in its head a lancet window between two small circular openings; in the middle story, is a central window of one light with cinquefoiled head; and on the ground floor are two small lancet windows, one on either side of the existing doorway. In each of the north and south walls, of this projecting limb of the building, there is a lancet window in the upper story. When we enter this Early English building, and ascend the stairs, we find that all the interior fittings are of much later date than the outer walls. In an upper room on the west side of this part, there is in the north wall a curiously carved mantelpiece of stone, which may have been constructed late in the fourteenth century; a carved wooden beading of the seventeenth century has been inserted around it. The upper portion of the stonework, which is castellated, has three projecting turret-like ornaments, six or seven inches long, one in the middle, and one at each end. These ornaments shew, each of them, five sides of an octagon, surmounted by castellation, and terminating below in a small boss of four oak leaves. The arch of the fireplace (beneath the castellated mantel) is of an ordinary character, with simple mouldings on the jambs, and triangles in the spandrels of the head. The late wooden beading is inserted outside the jambs, and beneath the mantel.

Looking from the window of this western room we see,

immediately opposite to us on the west, the Decorated east window of the chapel. Descending into the dwelling house, we find on the ground floor a wine cellar, formerly a vaulted chamber or passage, the vaulting of which in three bays is plain, and of early character, perhaps of the twelfth century.

Proceeding to the chapel, we see that its architecture accords well with the date of its consecration. In the Register of Archbishop Reynolds I have discovered, on folio 150[a], the record of a commission, issued on the Nones of November 1326, empowering Peter "*Episcopus Corlaniensis*" to dedicate the newly built chapel in the manor of Salmeston, Thanet; where, runs the record, another chapel, as it is said, was anciently dedicated. This dedication of Salmeston Chapel took place just eight years after an attack had been made, upon the buildings of the manor house, by numerous tenants of Minster Manor, in December, 1318. They set fire to the gates, and caused the resident Augustinians, William Biholte and William de Middleton, to remain with their servants, shut up within Salmeston Grange for fifteen days. The attempt to burn the house failed, but the assailants burned the trees, and the farming implements, which belonged to St. Augustine's Abbey.*

The chapel, now used as a barn, we approach upon its north side, and we enter through its north-west window, observing the blocked-up doorway beneath us, a little to the west, as we enter by the window. The exterior of the chapel may be roughly stated as being *about* forty feet from east to west, and twenty-one feet from north to south. It had no aisles, and there was no architectural division or distinction between the nave and chancel. The whole building is of one uniform height and width. The east window (now bricked up) is of three trefoiled lights (the cusps being large); in its head are three elongated quatrefoils; and above its arch is a label terminating in well carved heads. On each side of it, but below the level of its sill, there is in the east wall a large stone bracket, well moulded but of

* Lewis, *Hist of Tenet*, p. 105. Thorn's *Chronicle*, *X Scriptores*, col. 2034. Hasted, *History of Kent*, x., 334.

simple design. In the south wall is a piscina, within graceful ogee'd niche, with trefoiled head. Opposite, o the north, is an Easter Sepulchre with a cusped arcl cinquefoiled or sevenfoiled, surmounted by a label of th roll moulding. In each of the north and south walls thei were two windows, each of which had two trefoiled light surmounted by a quatrefoil, as tracery, in the head. The have labels, which are returned at their ends, and look late in style, but may not be so. The west window was mo graceful than these side windows, although its design wa similar, having two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil abov On the interior, north and south of the spring of the we window-arch, are two well carved representations of huma heads, not cut off at the chin, but shewing the neck. Th king-post roof, of three bays, has two well moulded tie beams, the ends of which rest upon stone brackets, carved somewhat in the same way as the projecting brackets in th east wall, with a tau-shaped moulding. The king-posts ar octagonal, and their caps and bases are well moulded. Th wall-plates are likewise moulded. There were two smal doorways, with returned labels, and continuous chamfers one in each wall, north and south. Beneath the east end o the chapel, there is a small crypt, entered by an external door below the east window.

At present there is a passage, near the east end of the chapel's south side, by which we can pass, through what was a window of the chapel, into an adjunct of the Hall or Refectory, which runs nearly parallel to the chapel, but lies to the south-east of it.

Passing round, outside, through the kitchen garden, we enter this Hall, which was erected by Thomas Icham, Sacristan of St. Augustine's, about A.D. 1389; when the Hall with adjacent chambers cost 100 marks.* This building had two stories, and was about sixty feet long, by twenty-five feet broad. The line of the floor, which divided it into two stories, can be clearly traced on the walls. As we enter

* Thorn's *Chronicle, Decem Script.*, column 2196. Item fecit novam aulam apud Salmiston cum cameris, prec' C. marc. Hasted, *History of Kent*, x., 334; xii., 209 note.

(through the south wall) we observe that there was, at this south-east corner, a doorway into the upper floor close to the east wall, and below, westward of the upper door, there was a doorway to the ground floor. Of the upper doorway the eastern spring of the arch still remains; of the lower doorway the western jamb can be traced. Within, the upper story was probably the principal room of the mediæval house. It had, on the south side, two pretty windows, each of two trefoiled lights, and there were stone window seats, one on each side. The west window had two lights, trefoiled, with large cusps; and in the head, above them, was a trefoil. Its jambs, externally, are moulded with a continuous half-round moulding; there is a hood mould, or label, springing from well carved human heads. Traces of the fireplace in the upper story are to be seen in the north wall, somewhat westward of its middle point. About the middle of that north wall, there was a window of a single light, and east of it was the north door of this upper room. There seems to have been in the east wall a window of one trefoiled light, high up in the gable. The wall-plates of the king-post roof are handsomely moulded. The east gable, and its western fellow, are externally finished with two rows of very thin red tiles, so placed that only their narrow edges appear.

In the lower story of this hall, very few traces of fittings remain. It was evidently a low dark room. It had one door near the south-east corner, and another in the north wall, about midway between its east and west ends. West of the north door, was a single-light window. No doubt there were small rectangular windows in the south wall of this basement story, but their traces are not easily found.

On the south-east of the hall, and contiguous to it, was a smaller building, likewise of two stories, entered through the south-east doors, already described, of the hall and its basement. This outer, southern, building, now unroofed and ruined, was, speaking roughly, about thirty-nine feet long, by fifteen feet broad. In its lower story were rectangular windows, with wooden lintels, and well-splayed sides, one on the east wall; one, or two, on the south; and one in the

west. A curious ruin of masonry, on the north, may pos sibly have been a fireplace.

In the upper story of this outer, or southernmost, buildin (now open to the sky) there were, in the south wall, tw windows rather square in outline, and widely splayed. I the same wall, near its west end, was a fireplace of yello moulded bricks, which can still be seen.

In the Middle Ages, the Abbots of St. Augustine's see to have been frequently at Salmanston. Many of the Abbe charters are dated from this place. Here also the Abbo received the homage of their superior tenants. Hither, o April the 18th, 1448 (26 Hen. VI) came William Sandyr, an did homage to George, Abbot of St. Augustine's, for half fee in Westgate, which had come into his possession as th heir of his deceased brother John Sandyr.*

Here also, were received all the Rectorial Tithes of S John Baptist's parish, so that Salmeston was frequentl called Salmeston Rectory. On the 2nd of May, 1597, th Archbishop of Canterbury let Salmeston Rectory on lease to Henry Finch of Canterbury, at an annual rent o £38 10s. 1d., but the advowson and timber were exempte from the lease. In addition to the rent of £38 10s. 1d. th lessee was to give yearly to each of 24 poor persons o Thanet 9 loaves, and 18 herrings; to distribute annually 1 blankets to the poor; to give twice a week, during the thre months intervening between the Feasts of the Invention o the Cross and of St. John the Baptist, on Mondays and Fridays to each and every poor person of Thanet coming to Salmstone a dish of peas; to deliver annually to the Vicars of St. John's, St. Peter's and St. Laurence 2 bushels of wheat a piece, and to pay to the Vicar of Minster 10s. per annum.†

Two hundred and forty one years ago, the Parliamentry Commissioners made a survey of this place. The record of it is preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, in *Parliamentary Surveys*, volume ii. 157. It describes the "Rectorie of Salmestone Grange" as consisting, on the 27th

* *Black Book of Canterbury. Cotton* MSS. Faustina A. I. fol. 36a.
† *Dom. State Papers, Elizabeth*, vol. cclxxvii., No. 101.

of May, 1647, of (i) a mansion house of stone, tiled, containing 12 rooms (six above and six below stairs); (ii) an old chapel, then used as a barn, built of stone and tiled; (iii) a fothering yard, on the east side of the house, fenced partly with mud walls, and partly housed; wherein stood two fair barns; one of them was tiled and contained 8 bays with 2 coves, the other barn was thatched and had 4 bays with 2 coves; (iv) one stable and hen house, thatched, together with a well-house and fother house upon the said yard; (v) one granary, tiled; (vi) one Pound, in the east end of the said yard, called the Bishop's Pound, with mud walls, wherein the Parishes of St. Peter's, St. John's, and Birchington, upon occasion of trespass, impound their cattle; (vii) 48 acres of glebe, partly chalk, partly loam, abutting upon land belonging to the heirs of Mr. Richard Norwood, and of John Tomlyn, towards the east. (viii) Also the Tithes. All this rectorial property was then in the occupation of Sir Edward Scott, Knight of the Bath, and Robert Scott, Esq., by lease from George, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 17th June, 1629, at a yearly rent of £38 10s. 1d. The Commissioners estimated that the full worth of this property was £520 per annum.

The existing dwelling house, which is contiguous to the Early English portion of the Grange, has no features of interest, although it is by no means a new building. A good water-colour drawing of the chapel hangs in the Library of St. Augustine's College, at Canterbury, and there is in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, No. 45, a poor engraving (plate xii. fig. 2, p. 171) which shews the whole of the buildings as seen from the south west.

Ramsgate.

The old parish church of St. Lawrence, which attained its present large size about A.D. 1200, not much after that date, nor much before it, suggests to any thoughtful observer the presence of a considerable population at that early period. Ramsgate, and Manston, were undoubtedly the two

hamlets in which that population dwelt. Both of
are of much more ancient origin than many
suspect.

Ramsgate is heard of repeatedly in the thirteen
tury, and appears to have been a comparatively p
place. In the Ringslo Hundred Court during Edw
third year (1274-5) complaint was made that Chris
Remmesgate and others had stopped a common
Remisgate.* During the same reign we find that
the persons who, in one year, paid Romescot, in the
of St. Lawrence, no less than six took their names fro
place; they were the heirs of Martin de Ramisgate, S
de Ramisgate, Bartholomeu de Ramisgate, Baldwin de
gate, Johanna daughter of John de Ramisgate, and C
de Ramisgate.† Another payer of Romescot here wa
son of Adrian de Elinton, so that, more than six ce
ago, Ellington (now the property of Mr. Wilkie) w
estate from which a family took its name. The total n
of persons who in one year paid Romescot in St. Law
parish, during the reign of Edward I, was 141. An
them were Richard de Osingehelle, John de St. Law
Gervase de Maneston, Cecilia de Manneston, Paulin
Maneston, and James son of Luke de Maneston.‡

In the other Thanet parishes, the payers of Romesc
the same year of Edward I's reign, were in St. Mary,
stre 138, in St. Peter 163, in St. John the Baptist 208.
bably, as each of these units represents the head of a h
we may obtain an approximation to the population of
parish if we multiply these totals by 5.

As illustrative of the size and position of Ram
during the reigns of James I and Charles I, we give
following Returns, which are preserved among the *Dom*
State Papers in the Public Record Office.

A Muster Rowle contayneing the names of the soldiers
men . . . . Dry pikes halberts and bills of *Ramsgate* and *S*

* Furley's *Weald of Kent*, ii., 162. (Hundred Rolls, 3 Ed. 1).
† *Black Book of Canterbury; Cotton. MSS.* Faustina, A. I., folio 22
‡ *Ibidem.* § *Dom. State Papers*, James I., vol. cvii. No. 1

two members of the Town and Port of Sandwich in the County of Kent vizt:—

RAMSGATE.—*Light Horse furnished.* Robert Sprackling.

Armed Men furnished. Robert Sprakling, Esquio^{r}, fower, John Eason, Stephen Sampson, Richard Basset, Robert Allen, John Ivers, John Coppine jun., Will'm Walker, two, Willi'm Saunders sen., Robert Hawkes. 14.

Musketiers furnished. Robert Spracking Esquio^{r} fower, Stephen Sampson, Abdia Coppine, Thomas Coppine jun, [Zacha]rias Spencer, Thomas Coppine sen, William Mockenes, Richard Basset, Roger Coppine, John Jervis, John Coppine, Edward Trever, Paul Wastell, Nicholas Spencer, William Walker. William Coppine, William Saunders sen: William Saunders jun^{r}, Thomas Coppine, two, Thomas ffairman, Stephen Golding, Oliver Read, William Hawkes, John Covell, Roger Eason, Richard Huffam, Henry Martine, Paul Hewit, George Curleing, John Coppine sen, William ffairman. 35.

Dry Pikes furnished. Thomas Coppine, William Mockenes, Nicholas Spencer, Paul Beere, William Knowler, Roger Bonner, John Garret, William Basset, John Davison, Nicholas ffairman, Griffen Holland, John Wraith, William Knowler jun, Alexander Coppine, George Morse, George Longe, Thomas Usher, Robert Davies, John Sea, William Ivers, George Bennet, Richard Barham, William Basset, Edward Pannell, Thomas Emptage. 25.

Bills. Alexander Longe, Richard ..... George ....., Thomas Reason John Eason jun, John Bonner sen, Richard Parkins, John Moore, William Coppine, 9.

SARRE.—*Armed men furnished.* Nicholas Henaker, Joell Sollye.

Musketiers furnished. Nicholas Henaker, Joell Sollye, Abraham Widdet, Robert Widdet, Edward Chilton maior.

Drye Pikes furnished. Stephen Peirs, Abraham Widdet, Robert Butcher. 3.

Bills furnished. John Jasper, William May, Stephen Sollye, Thomas Allen, 4.

Musketts xxxix
Corslets xvi
Dry Pikes xxviii
Bills & (sculls?) xiii
} 96

The names of all the *able seafaring men* at RAMSGATE, March 1623,*

Georg Corlyng	Roger Esson	John Esson
Nickcolas Spenser	John Dauison	Thomas Copen
Roger Copen	George Longe	Harye Jenken
Stephen Gouldyng	Roger Bonard	Mathyas Allen
Edward Trener	Wylliam Evers	John Fayermane
Rychard Huffume	Antonye Hayles	Edward Conard
Robart Barbar	Robart Copen	Rychard Basset
Thos Copen	Thomas Dauison	Wylliame Wastell
Nickcolas Farermane	Rychard Sander	Georg Benett

* James I, vol. cxl., No. 66 (March 1623.)

Wylliame Copen	Zacary Napultone	John Rossell
Wylliam Fayerman	Antonye Knouler	Thomas Corlyng
Wylliame Sander	Rychard Marten	Nickcolas Boken
Wylliame Knouler	John Moryshe	Rychard Evers
Thomas Roffe	Thomas Fayermane	
Robart Dauye	Harye Fayermane	

RAMSGATE.*—A note of the names of all the *Shippes Barkes* and *vessels* w their burdens and the names of all the owners and p^t owners Octr 16

1. Imprimis the BLISSING of 56 tonnes. Owners Henrye ffayerm Thos ffayerman, Widdow Culmer; William Evens.
2. The SPEEDWELL of 18 tonnes. Owners John Esson sen^r & John Es jun^r
3. The ALIVANT of 24 tonnes,. Owners Robert Sprackling Esquire, Richa Bassett, Griffin Holpam.
4. The THOMAS of 24 tonnes. Owners Thomas ffayerman sen^r & Thos ffayerman jun^r.
5. The ROGER of 20 tonnes. Owner Steven Goldinge.
6. The MARYE AND FRANCIS of 22 tonnes. Owners William Know Anthony Knowler, Thos Deveson, Richard Martyne.
7. The PRIMROSE of 22 tonnes. Owner Richard Sanders.
8. The WILLIAM & ANNES of 30 tonnes. Owner William ffayerman.
9. The GRAYHOWND of 8 tonnes. Owners Wm Coppin, Widdow Holt.
10. The MARYE of 22 tonnes. Owner Richard Huffum, William Cop Robert Coppin.
11. The NIGHTINGALE of 26 tonnes. Owner William Sanders.
12. The PRIMROSE of 20 tonnes. Owners George Bennett Richard Huffu
13. The MAYFLOWER of 16 tonnes. Owner Paule Wastell,
14. The MARY & JOHN of 18 tonnes. Owner George Longe Thos Curling
15. The VINYARD of 26 tonnes. Owners Will'm Evens, Widdow Culmer
16. The ELIZABETH of 20 tonnes. Owners George Curlinge, Ste Goldinge.
17. The MARY FORTUNE of 45 tonnes. Owners Nicholas Spenser, Vinc Underdowne.
18. The RICHARD of 16 tonnes. Owner Richd Barber, Will'm Coppin, Jo ffayerman.
19. The GIFTE OF GOD of 18 tonnes. Owners Thos Coppin Widd Moskanesse.
20. The JAMES of 18 tonnes. Owner Richard Bassett,
21. The NICHOLAS of 16 tonnes. Owner Roger Esson.

Masters, 20.
Common Men, 28.

Another illustration of the condition of Ramsgate mo than two hundred years ago, is found in the copper toke issued by its tradesmen for the convenience of their cu tomers, during the Commonwealth. One farthing toke

* *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. xxix., No. 28, IV. (October 1626).

bears the name of "Richard Langley of Ramsgate 1657,' with the initials of himself and his wife, R. P. L., and the figure of a man making candles. Another is inscribed "Clement March at Romans. gat in Thanet 1658, C. M. M.," and bears the representation of a cheese knife. There was likewise a halfpenny of "Hen. Holdred in Romansgat in ye Isle of Tennet." Mr. Bubb of Minster possesses examples of all these Ramsgate tokens.

St. Lawrence.

We must not suppose that the first Church of St. Lawrence was of such a size as that which has existed from A.D. 1200 to the present time. There can be no doubt, that a smaller church stood on the same site during the twelfth century.* The only indications however by which we could trace remains of that earlier church are the mural arcades which ornament the tower. These arcades, each consisting of five round-headed arches, with small shafts, may indicate that the tower was built before that enlargement was effected which resulted from piercing the church walls, with pointed arches, in all directions. Nevertheless, there are no sufficient grounds upon which to hazard a conjecture, respecting the shape and size of the church in its smaller form. The tower of St. Lawrence church is said to have been much injured by lightning, on the 26th of August, 1439.† I am somewhat inclined to think that the tower of St. Peter's church was the victim on that occasion; but my conjecture may be erroneous.

This church seems to have attained its present form *circa* A.D. 1200, that is to say, during the last quarter of the twelfth century, or a little later. It was originally one of

* In Mockett's *Journal*, p. 9, it is stated that in A.D. 1062, St. Lawrence Church was built "as a chapel to Mynster," but there is no authority given, or known, for such a statement. On the same page Margate Church (St. John's), is said to have been built in A.D. 1050.

† Dr. Bekington's Diary—"Die Mercurii 26 Aug. 1439, relatum insuper est quod campetile ecclesie Sci. Laurencii in Insula Tenedos vi fulminis hujusmodi et tonitrui incendio et ruina assumptum erat." Nicolas, *Acts of the Privy Council*, v. 386.

the three chapels-of-ease appendant to the mother chur St. Mary at Minster. It seems however to have obta a cemetery of its own about the year 1275. Althoug has a central tower, it is not cruciform, as the transept not project beyond the north and south aisles of the and chancel.

The nave, with its arcades (each formed of three po arches) is of the style called Transition from Norm Early English. It has no round arches, although exterior of the tower shews on two sides (east and s mural arcades of round-headed arches. In the south a of the nave, two of the pier-caps are ornamented with h heads, at their south-west angles, as in the north arca St. Peter's, and south arcade at St. Nicholas.

The tower, which is central, stands on four pointed a The eastern arch bears, on its west face, a mouldi the Norman chevron pattern. Its piers are shafted. southern arch has, on one of its pier-caps, a "gag human head, from the mouth of which issues a bridle ending in foliage, like two such bridled heads at St. Nic Church. Engravings of the most ornate of these ch arch pier-caps are given in the *Journal of the British Ar logical Association*, iii., 49, from drawings by Fairholt, in 1848. I fear, however, that some curious details, s in the engravings, were not originally here.

The Chancel arcades (each consisting of two poi arches) are purely Early English. Their piers have, at angles, shafts with foliated caps. On the south side, at east end, in the *sacrarium*, there is an additional arch; pointed, plain, lower than those in the arcades, and ha eastern pier deeply splayed. The intention of this slan splay was to enable the high altar to be seen from south chancel.

In the south wall of the high chancel, there is a trefo niche, with a piscina. In the south chancel is a pis beneath an ogee arch, well moulded.

The roof of the nave has two tie-beams and octag king-posts with moulded caps and bases. The chancel a barrel or waggon roof, of which the timbers are

visible. In the north chancel are three rude tie-beams and king-posts, unmoulded, eastward of the tower. Part of the ceiling roof of the north aisle occupies the apex of the arch between it and the north chancel. That arch springs from tassel-like corbels, the south of which has been cut away for the convenience of persons who, fifty years ago, used to ascend the gallery stairs, then existing beside it. Formerly broad galleries on the north side, and at the west end of the church, occupied a great portion of the space; that on the south side was narrower; all have been happily swept away.

At the east end of the north chancel the wooden screen of the vestry is panelled with tall, broad, five-foiled arches; upon three of which may still be traced outlines of the figures of saints. In this north, or Manston, chancel are three monumental brasses. One, of a knight in full plate armour, wearing the collar of SSS around his neck, commemorates Nicholas Manston "armiger," who died in 1444. Another (now affixed to the vestry screen) representing a woman wearing a butterfly head-dress, commemorates his daughter, Juliana St. Nicholas, wife of Thomas St. Nicholas. She died in 1493. The third, probably, bore the effigy of Eleanor Haute, wife of Nicholas Manston. Its slab still retains three shields, which bear the arms of—1. Haute, 2. Manston, impaling Haute, and 3. Manston's issue, quartering Haute.

In the south-west corner of the south chancel is a mural monument to Robert (son of Nicholas) Sprakling. He died in 1590. In the north-east corner of that chancel is the old round-topped parish chest, bound with seven bands of iron. The parish books of assessment date from 1582, and are kept in the vestry.

In the high chancel is a flat stone, commemorating Adam Sprakling, Esq., of Ellington, who was hanged at Sandwich in 1652 for the murder of his wife (Catherine Lewknor). Although he was hanged, his body lies buried beneath the communion-table, and his property was not confiscated. The family of Sprakling was settled in Thanet before the thirteenth century, and the name of "Elinton," their seat in the parish, is older still.

In the south chancel is a quaint epitaph for Fran Coppin, wife of Thomas Coppin of Westminster, and daugh of Robert Brooke, of Nacton, Suffolk :—"My dear wife o journey into these parts was by death intercepted at Manst ultimo Sept. 1667, ætat. suæ 45."

The hatchments on the nave walls are numerous. Tl commemorate—

1. John Murray, fourth Earl of Dunmore, who died 1809.

2. Lady Catherine Stewart, Countess of Dunmore, wife, who died in 1818. They were the parents of L Augusta Murray, who married the Duke of Sussex. I son, Sir Augustus D'Esté, is buried in a mausoleum wit this churchyard.

3. The first Lord Truro, whose second wife was L Augusta Murray's daughter, he died in 1855.

4. Elizabeth Baroness Conyngham (sister of the Earl Leitrim), who died in 1816. She was the mother of the fi Marquess Conyngham.

5. John Pettit (3 eagles crowned).

6. Samuel Winter (arms chequy).

7. The father of the Rev. G. W. Sicklemore (3 sickles)

8. Argent, a fess indented Gules, beneath 3 lions.

9. Jolliffe (of South Woodhouse), 3 hands on pile, etc., e

10. Gules, 2 bars vairy, blue and white.

11. Garrett (*Argent*, between two flanches, a lion rampa Sable.)

12. In the south chancel is Mr. Austin's hatchment.

There are several memorial windows of modern staine glass, by Hughes and Ward (in N. aisle and at west S. aisle), by Barnett or Barton, an Irish maker (the Vinte window in the north chancel), and by Clayton and Bell (o north-west and south-east).

In the south chancel wall is a mural slab, carved in hig relief, by T. Woolner, with the recumbent figure of Mr Froude (wife of the historian), daughter of Mr. J. A. Warr She died in 1874.

At *Nether Court*, in St. Lawrence, the residence of th Rev. G. W. Sicklemore, a large room on the ground-floor i

panelled throughout with embossed leather. The pattern, embossed in high relief, represents festoons of flowers and of fruit, mostly gilded, but occasionally depicted in their natural colours. Amidst these festoons fly gilded cupids, and some butterflies. The ground colour of the leather is a rich brown.

For many years the whole of these handsome leather hangings lay securely hidden beneath wooden panelling, which was placed over them; they are therefore in perfect preservation. Each panel has, at present, a narrow border or frame of wainscot. There is a *dado* of wainscot, about four feet high, around the room below the leather panelling.

Very few rooms in England are now completely hung or panelled with leather; Mr. Sicklemore's very large and perfect example is therefore extremely valuable and interesting. The artistic merits of the design and of the colouring are great; the grouping being extremely graceful. Probably the hangings were manufactured about the time of William III. In the seventeenth century Cobham Hall contained hangings "of cloth and guilt leather" in two rooms, while in two other rooms were leather carpets.* Heavy leather curtains are still sometimes found across doorways of Continental churches.

In Mediæval times there was here an Upper Court Manor as well as a manor of Nether Court. Cyriac Petit, writing in the reign of Henry VIII, said that Nether Court Manor was a Knight's Fee mentioned A.D. 1347, in the Assessment for Knighting the Black Prince, in the following terms:—"Of Master Nicholas de Sandwich, for one fee which the Lord Nicholas de Sandwich held of the Abbot of St. Augustine's in the parish of St. Lawrence in Thanet, 40s."† Nearly a century previously the similar entry made in 38 Hen. III ran thus:—"Symon de Sandwich holds in Menstre one Knight's fee and a quarter, from the Abbot of St. Augustine's."

The traces of Upper Court have nearly disappeared, but in 38 Hen. III it seems to have been held by John de St.

* MS. Inventory (A.D. 1672) in a book at Cobham Hall, pp. 91, 92, 93.
† *Archæologia Cantiana*, X., 115.

Lawrence. Afterwards Ralph de St. Lawrence held it, bu in 20 Ed. III it belonged to John de Criol.

When the hearth or chimney tax was assessed in 1673-4 St. Lawrence was entered as West Borough, and tw hundred and fifty-three hearths were taxed in one hundre of its houses; while the occupants of one hundred an seven other houses were excused because they receiv parochial relief. In Ramsgate two hundred and thirty-fo hearths were taxed in ninety-two houses; and the houses seventy-three poor people were excused.

Partisans of Wat Tyler, and of Jack Cade.

The men of Thanet seem always to have been bold, a tenacious of their rights. Before the Manor of Minster b came the property of St. Augustine's the tenants there had been accustomed to do suit and service in their ow "Halimot," or Manor Court, at Minster. The Abbot of S Augustine's, however, caused them to come to the Abb Court at Canterbury, not in a body, but by four of the number as representatives, under pain of forfeiting 6s. 8 for default. In 1176 the tenants disputed their liabili to go to Canterbury and brought the matter to trial, b the case was decided against them. Again, in 1198, th tenants brought their case before the King's justices a Westminster, but were again non-suited. After 120 yea more had elapsed, they were bolder. The Abbot di trained, in 1318, for many rents detained, and then th whole of the tenants rose *en masse*, 600 in number. The besieged Minster Court, Salmestone Grange and Clives end manorhouse, and remained together for five weeks The ringleaders were punished. Lewis tells the story i his *History of Tenet*, pp. 104-105. After reading suc records of their temper, and their actions, we are not sur prised to find that men of Thanet took a prominent part i the misdoings which characterized Wat Tyler's rebellion, i June, 1381. On Trinity Monday, June the 10th, Joh Reade of Thanet was one of the mob which forcibl

assailed, in Canterbury, the house of William Medmenham. They broke into his house, and trampled upon, or feloniously carried away his goods and chattels to the value of £10.* Court rolls, and books of account connected with manors and with the king's taxes, were the especial objects of their search, and such muniments the rebels destroyed, wherever they could find them. In addition to his residence in Canterbury, William Medmenham had a dwelling-house in Thanet, at Manston, within the parish of St. Lawrence. Consequently, on Thursday, June the 13th,† being the Festival of Corpus Christi, proclamation was made, in the Church of St. John, in Thanet, that all men ought to unite in going to the house of William Medmenham, to pull it down, to fling out the books and rolls found there, and to burn them with fire. Further, it was declared that if they could find William Medmenham, he should be killed and his head be cut off.

William, a chaplain officiating in the church of St. John in Thanet; John Tayllor, sacristan of that church; and John Bocher the church clerk; were propounders of this proclamation, by commission from John Rakestraw, and Watte Tegheler. They and their abettors Stephen Samuel, John Wenelok, John Daniels, and Thomas Soles, compelled a levy of the county around, to the number of 200 men. They proceeded to the hamlet of Manston, broke open Medmenham's house, ransacked his chambers and chests, burnt the Rolls which related to the King's Taxes, and the Rolls of the office of Receiver of Green Wax for the county of Kent, and carried away goods and chattels to the value of twenty marks.‡ The rebels ordered a tax to be paid, for maintaining their proceedings against the lordships, throughout the whole Isle of Thanet, excepting the tenants of the Priory of Christ Church and the franchise of Canterbury.§

On St. John Baptist's day, June the 24th, the rebels were still at work. On that day, at St. John's parish, William Tolone (perhaps the chaplain abovementioned), John Jory, Stephen Samuel, William atte Stone junior, and John

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. III., 73.
† *Ibidem*, pp. 72. 73.
‡ *Ibidem*, 76.
§ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

Michelat, raised a cry that no tenant should do service, . custom, to the lordships in Thanet, as they had done afor time, under pain of forfeiting their goods, and of losing the heads.* Furthermore, no tenant should suffer any distres to be taken, under similar penalties.

Thus we see that Thanet was convulsed, by the rebel for about one month. The Castle at Canterbury was seize and the sheriff captured therein on the 10th of June; t Gaol at Maidstone was broken open on the 11th; and on t same day, the Green Wax Roll of the King was destroy in John Colbrond's house, at Wylmington, near Wye. (the 12th of June the rebels mustered at Blackheath; Ar bishop Sudbury was murdered on the 14th; and Wat Ty was killed by Lord Mayor Walworth on the 15th of Jun yet we find the rebels in Thanet continuing in arms u July.

William Medmenham seems to have been the steward some considerable manors, as well as one of the Kin Receivers of "Green Wax" estreats. In 1389 (12 Ric. we find John Umfray of Canterbury entering into so transaction, of purchase or sale, with William Medmenh of the Isle of Thanet and Isabella his wife, respecting te ments in Canterbury, Minster, St. Lawrence, and St. Peter' MANSTON, the hamlet in which Medmenham dwelt, was the Middle Ages a somewhat populous place. It gave na to a numerous family, called "de Mannestone," who probab resided at Manston Court. The ancient building there, st in existence, which has generally been described as a chap is really the ruined shell of a two-storied dwelling. T back of a mediæval fireplace, formed of masses of thin tile is still visible in one of the walls of the upper story; a below there are small mediæval windows.

The subject of Rents and Services seems to have bee a constant source of disputes and discontent in Thane Half a century, or more, after Wat Tyler's rebellion, anoth crisis occurred. Lewis has fully recorded its circumstance in his *History of Tenet*, page 106, and has printed th

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, III., 71. 72.
† Kent Fines, 12 Ric. II. Lansdowne MS. 307, folio 63a.

terms of composition agreed to by the tenants in A.D. 1441, together with a complete list of their names, in his Appendix of "Collections," page 29. Therefore we need not do more than mention the matter here, and give the names of some of the more prominent of the Abbot's tenants, in the Manors of Minster and Hengrave. Among them (on June 1st, 1441) were

Sir Nicholas Wotton of Sheriffs Hope, John Daundelyon, Thomas Northwoode, Thomas Northwoode senior, Thomas Northwoode of Flete, and . . . . of Henry Northwoode; Roger Manston and William Manston; William Petyt: Wm Aldelond; William Humfrey; Thomas St Nicholas; John Septvans; Richard Culmer; William Saundre; Thos Loverik; John Chirch or Chiche; Peter Atte Stone; Thomas Paulyn of Stone; Richard Notfeld; Edmund Wykes; William and Nicholas Gotyslee; John Berton; John Cantes.

The purport of the Composition seems to have been that the tenants were not to be distrained on for rents and services which they used to pay, but instead of them, they were thenceforward to pay 6½d. for every acre of land called Corngavil, and 3d. for every acre of the land called Pennygavil land. Defaulters who did not appear at the High Court held at Canterbury, close to St. Augustine's, were to forfeit 12d. instead of the former large penalty of 6s. 8d.

The causes of local discontent having been removed, by this Composition with the Abbot, the attention of the Islanders seems to have been turned to national concerns, of wider interest.

Mutterings of discontent were heard in Thanet, for at least two years, before Jack Cade's rebellion broke out. In the year 1448 a prisoner, in the gaol of the Prior of Canterbury, made a confession to Roger Twisden, the Prior's bailiff. In it he declared that a neighbour of his, in Thanet, spoke treasonably against the King, and against his Queen, Margaret of Anjou, who at that time had no child. The language of the Thanet peasant represented that the King had no right to bear the *fleurs de lis*, nor the ship, on his coin called a "noble;" and that the Queen had no right to be Queen of England. Were he a nobleman, he said, he would

unite with others in "putting down" the Queen, because s
bore no son, and there was no prince in the land. The m
who spoke in this way was also said to clip the current co
of the realm; when he got a broad penny he was in t
habit of paring such a penny with his knife, and putting t
parings into a cup. The same man was accused of taki
by night, sacks of wool, which he carried to a creek in t
marsh, and sold to Frenchmen who came from Dieppe.*

This indication of feeling in Thanet, prepares us
the fact that when Jack Cade's rising commenced, in M
1450, several leading men in Thanet joined him. Am
them were Thomas Tarry and John Rychefeld, constables
Ryngslow Hundred, William Manston, Thomas St. Nichol
John Septvans and John Malyn,† all of whom survived, to
pardoned in July. As the Constables of the Hundred w
among the rebels, it may safely be inferred that the men
Thanet were summoned to Cade's standard with all le
form; and no doubt as many "mustered" as would have do
so for a lawful enterprise. Mr. W. D. Cooper's sketch of t
rebellion, printed in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. VII., is v
interesting, and should be consulted. The Kentish m
were alone when they encamped for the first time on Blac
heath, on the 1st of June; but men of Sussex and Surr
had joined them before they made their second march
Blackheath, on the 2nd of July. Next day they enter
London and were joined by men of Essex. They behead
Lord de Say, and the Sheriff of Kent, Crowmer, on the 4
of July, but on the 5th the citizens of London, who h
suffered from pillage, rose, and fought Cade's followers
London Bridge. This practically put an end to the rebellio
On the 6th of July negotiations for pardon were enter
upon, and Cade's "Bill of Petitions" was accepted by t
Chancellor (Archbishop Kempe) and Bishop Waynflet
Amongst the numerous points mentioned therein we find
complaint respecting "the returns of amerciaments call
the Green Wax." Thus we see that some of those feelin

* *MS. at Christ Church Canterbury.* M. 239.—*5th Report*, p. 455. of *Hi MS. Commission.*

† *Archæologia Cantiana*, VII., 268, 270. *Patent Roll* 28 *Hen.* VI, part memb. 13 *et seq.*

were still at work which had influenced Wat Tyler's followers, and had caused Thanet men to assail and force Medmenham's house at Manston, because it contained "Green Wax Rolls."

Of John Rychefeld (one of the Constables of the Hundred) we know nothing, but William Richefeld seems, by his will, to have left certain goods as a legacy out of which to provide an Antiphonary for the chapel of Hothe, in Reculver parish.* In 1511 this had not been done, and one result of Archbishop Warham's visitation, held in that year, was an order that the churchwardens of Reculver should provide such an Antiphonary.† The other constable, called Thomas Tarry, who united in the Composition with St. Augustine's in 1441, was probably a man of some weight and force of character. We find that, one hundred years after this rebellion, his name still clung to a road which formed one of the boundaries of Ramsgate. The bounds of the Cinque Ports' liberty at Ramsgate in 1560 were thus recorded:—"The sea lyeth on the east side of our liberties, and on the south side from the sea towards the west, a way called Thomas Tarye's way, leading by a close called Nynne Close, and so leadeth by a close called Beysaunts, and so down through Ellington, etc. etc."‡

John Malyn, who was of Monkton, made his will in 1464, and left to Holy Crosslight in Monkton Church two bushels of barley; to St. Mary's light, to the Little Cross light, and to the light of St. Mary Magdalen, 1 lb. of wax apiece.§

St. Peter's Church.

This handsome church has a nave of five bays, with north and south aisles, which were built when architecture was undergoing a transition, from the Norman to the Early English style; a chancel with north aisle of three bays, and a south chapel of one bay, both of the Early English period; and a western tower, probably of the Perpendicular period,

* Archbishop Warham's *Register*, fol. xlv[a].
† *Ibidem*, fol. lxiij[a].
‡ Boys' *Sandwich*, p. 832. Hasted, x., 388.
§ Lewis, *Hist. Tenet*, p. 35.

at the end of the north aisle, to which it opens by a poin arch.

In the nave we find some evidence to shew that present building was formed by enlarging* a smaller chur In the south arcade of the nave, the middle arch is point and its piers are, simply, portions of wall, left stand when, for the purpose of adding an aisle, this arch pierced in the solid exterior wall. The appearance of pointed arch, in the midst of an arcade of round arc suggests that this enlargement of the church was effec *about* A.D. 1180, or 1185. Oddly enough, we find that J Mockett, of St. Peter's parish, in his *Journal*, published 1836, ascribes the building of this church to the year 11 On page 9, he says, "A.D. 1184 St. Peter's Church, Isle

* Mr. G. E. Hannam, assisted by Mr. Bubb, kindly measured the build and to them I am indebted for the following list of dimensions of St. Pe Church, taken June 15th, 1878 :—

	Ft.	In.
Height of the tower	75	6
,, Battlements of ditto	2	8
To the top of side turret	3	6
Total height	81	8
Inside top of tower, south to north	20	6
,, ,, east to west	20	2
Inside of tower at bottom, south to north	14	4
,, ,, east to west	15	4
The base of the tower is nearly square, measuring outside from north to south	23	10
Total length of inside of church, east to west	127	10
Length of chancel	54	4
Width of chancel	19	3
Total width of inside of church	54	2
Width of Norwood Chapel	17	4
Width of north aisle	15	8
Width of south aisle	12	0
Width (of bays) between the pillars varies from 11 ft. 6 in. to 11 ft. 9 in.		
Circumference of pillars on north side	7	11
Ditto on south side	8	11
Thickness of crown of arches	2	11
Height from floor to top of crown of arches	14	11
Height from floor to wall plate of roof	18	1
Thickness of wall, south side	2	3
,, ,, north side	2	4
,, ,, at west end	2	8

The church was partially restored in 1859, Rev. Saunderson Robins bei Vicar, and G. E. Hannam and Edward Mockett churchwardens.

The present roof of nave and two aisles was restored 1872, J. P. Sedd being the architect.

Thanet, built as a chapel to Mynster." Where he obtained his date I do not know, but I consider that for the period of *enlargement* of this church, it is tolerably correct. I cannot however believe that a church of such size, and with such a peculiar arrangement of the south arcade, was the first church ever built upon this site.

With the exception of the piers of the pointed arch, all other piers in the nave-arcades are round columns, with caps and bases of the usual square outline, commonly found with round arches. The eyes of persons entering the church, by the south door, naturally rest chiefly upon a pier in the north arcade, which stands just eastward of the line of passage, between the south and north doors. The capital of that pier, and of it alone, is enriched with carved representations of human heads, at its southern angles. These heads are very similar to those which ornament a capital at St. Nicholas Church, and not unlike two others on caps at St. Lawrence. The ornaments upon the other pier-caps are of the simple escalloped pattern.

The existing chancel arch is modern. On the south side of the chancel, the aisle or chantry of one bay, is probably the base of an Early English tower. It opens to the chancel by a pointed arch, the northern edge of which bears a roughly wrought ornament of dog-tooth pattern, and its southern edge is worn, as if by the action of a bell-rope, in two or three places. This chantry, or old tower-basement, opens to the south aisle by a pointed Early English arch, and it is highly probable that, as at Birchington Church, and many other places, so here, the Early English tower stood at the east end of the nave's south aisle. That position for a tower was frequently adopted, in Kent, during the thirteenth century. Eastward of this tower or chantry, there are two windows in the south wall of the chancel; there is also a piscina under a large pointed arch, and a *sedile* of simplest form, a stone bench with one elbow.

The north aisle of the chancel opens to it by three Early English arches, with rude rectangular piers. Between the first and second arches, reckoned from the nave, there appears, above their common pier, a doorway, which no doubt

led to the rood-loft. We must therefore suppose that tl rood-screen stood eastward of the first bay of the chanc thus cutting off from it what is now the south chanc which I believe to have been originally the base of a tow This fact strongly supports my supposition. Upon the nor side of the sacrarium there is a double aumbry.

The roof of the chancel is coved; and wooden ribs, wi carved bosses at their intersections, divide it into lar panels, which have in modern times been decorated wi painting. The cornice or wall-plate is handsome, and wide hollow moulding is ornamented with carvings of folia and roses. It seems to be a work of the fifteenth centu The windows throughout the church seem to have n tracery and new mullions.

The lofty tower, 78 feet 2 inches high, situated like that St. John's Church at Margate, at the west end of the nor aisle, seems to be of the fifteenth century. Its weste window, which Sir Stephen Glynne pronounced to be of tl Curvilinear style, was probably inserted in 1827 as a restor tion (*see* Mockett's *Journal*, p. 108). It has on its nor side an octagonal turret three and a half feet higher than tl tower. Mockett, in his *Journal*, p. 109, states that in 158 the church steeple was injured by an earthquake; that i 1705, the top of the church steeple was new leaded; that i 1777 a new fourth bell was put up by Elijah Mockett; an in 1798, a new tenor bell* by John Mockett and T. Paine The church clock, he says, was purchased in 1802, by sub scription, and cost £103. In 1827, the belfry window wa replaced at a cost of £57 17s. 10d. The top of the steepl was, in 1813, fitted up as a telegraph, to convey messages t other stations which passed them on to the Nore, where th ships of war were lying. A lieutenant and three men wer stationed at St. Peter's, and were on the watch from sunris until twilight. Mockett says (p. 69) that their signals wer very amusing to the inhabitants.

The north doorway of the church is blocked up; ex

* On page 51 of Mockett's *Journal*, he says the set of bells, completed i 1798, weighed: Treble, 6cwt. 3qrs. 0lbs.; second, 6cwt. 0qrs. 24lbs.; third 7cwt. 2qrs. 16lbs.; fourth, 9cwt. 2qrs. 0lbs.; fifth, 11 cwt.; Tenor, 14cwt 3qrs. 0lbs.

ternally its arch had Early English ornament of the nail-head pattern.

In the centre of the north chancel there is a low altar tomb, in memory of Manasses Northwood of Dane Court, who died in March 1636. The slab of Purbeck or Bethersden marble is ornamented with six shields of arms, in addition to the circular inscription and shield in its centre. Four of these carved shields seem to record the chief alliances of the ancient and eminent family of Northwode, of Milton next Sittingbourne, and of Shepey; while only two, those at the eastern end or base of the slab, relate to Norwoods of Thanet. The absence of colour makes it difficult to identify all the coats of arms, but the carved shields are as follows:—

1. (South-west) *Northwode* of Milton, impaling "paly wavy of six."
2. (N.W.) *Northwode* with a label, impaling paly of six, on a bend 3 eagles displayed (*Grandison*).
3. *Northwode*, impaling a fesse *ermine* between 6 annulets.
4. *Northwode*, impaling a lion rampant, over which a saltire engrailed is superimposed.
5. *Norwood* of Dane Court, impaling 3 garbs within a bordure semeé of annulets (*Kempe*).
6. *Norwood* of Dane Court, impaling a chevron between three buckles.

The shield of the Norwoods of Dane Court has, in its dexter chief, a wolf's head erased, added to the simple shield (a cross engrailed) of the Northwodes of Milton. Shield No. 5 is probably intended for that of Alexander Norwood, who married Joan, daughter of — Kempe, and widow of Roger Howlett. Manasses Norwood was the third son of Alexander and Joan. Probably the sixth shield was that used by Manasses himself, who married Elizabeth Badcock. As there is no evidence, whatever, of the connection supposed to exist, between the Norwoods of Dane Court and the Northwodes of Milton, I believe that the four shields bearing reference to Northwodes, and their ancient alliances, were carved on this tomb in allusion to the fact that Manasses Norwood purchased the Manor of Norwoods in Milton, which had been the chief seat of the ancient

family of Northwode. The official Court Roll of Milt Manor, written in 1631, states that Sir William Tuft purchased from Sir Thomas Norton, knight, the Manor Milton Chasteners (otherwise called Norwoods Manor) a 485 acres of land, which formed a portion only of the ent estate. The whole Northwode estate, sold by Sir Thon Norton, comprised 991 acres. Before 1631 Sir Willi Tufton sold 310 acres, part of his purchase, together w the seat of the Manor of Milton Chasteners *alias* Norwoo to Manasses Norwood *armiger*, Richard Norwood gentlen (son of Manasses), and Alexander Norwood (son of Richa and their heirs. Undoubtedly, Manasses Norwood made purchase from a desire to connect himself with the gr family of Northwode. From the addition of a cant bearing a wolf's head, to the old Northwode shield, i evident that the Heralds considered there was not full pr of the direct descent of this Thanet family from the gr Milton family. Nevertheless, the tomb of Manasses N wood bears four shields which appeared upon the tombs the ancient and greater family.

The fact seems to be that the Thanet family was sett in this island at a very early period. I find, in 1327, t name of Richard de Northwode in the Subsidy Roll i Ringslow Hundred. As there was a Northwood on t border of St. Peter's parish,* and as there likewise was, Whitstaple, a village called Northwode† (unless inde Northwode was the original name of Whitstaple itself), can understand that the Thanet family may have spru from either of these places. At all events, in 1441, no le than four of this family held lands in Thanet under S Augustine's Abbey. Among the tenants who were parties the Composition, made in that year, between the Abb and the tenants were Thomas Northwoode, sen., Thom Northwoode, heirs of Henry Northwoode, and Thomas Nortl wode de Flete.‡ In 1494 Alys, widow of Richard Norwoo

* Mockett's *Journal*, p. 151.

† 38 Hen. III. "Will's de Wilton tenet villatam de Northwode que dicit Whitestaple" *Archæologia Cantiana*, XII., 204).

‡ Lewis' *Hist. of Tenet.* Appendix, pp. 29, 30.

her will, and bequeathed money to each
he church of which she had hitherto

138 of his *Journal*, by a curious error,
in St. Peter's churchyard a tombstone
· of William Norwood, and dated 1122
on a subsequent page, 209, he corrects
s the true date, 'William Norwood's
ate was probably CIƆDCXXII. How
ated to Manasses we do not know. Mr.
hford, who has investigated the gene-
urt family, finds no evidence enabling
William Norwood, who died in 1622.
e will of Manasses, whose tomb is in
ll is dated 11th September, 1634. He
being then resident at St. Paul's in

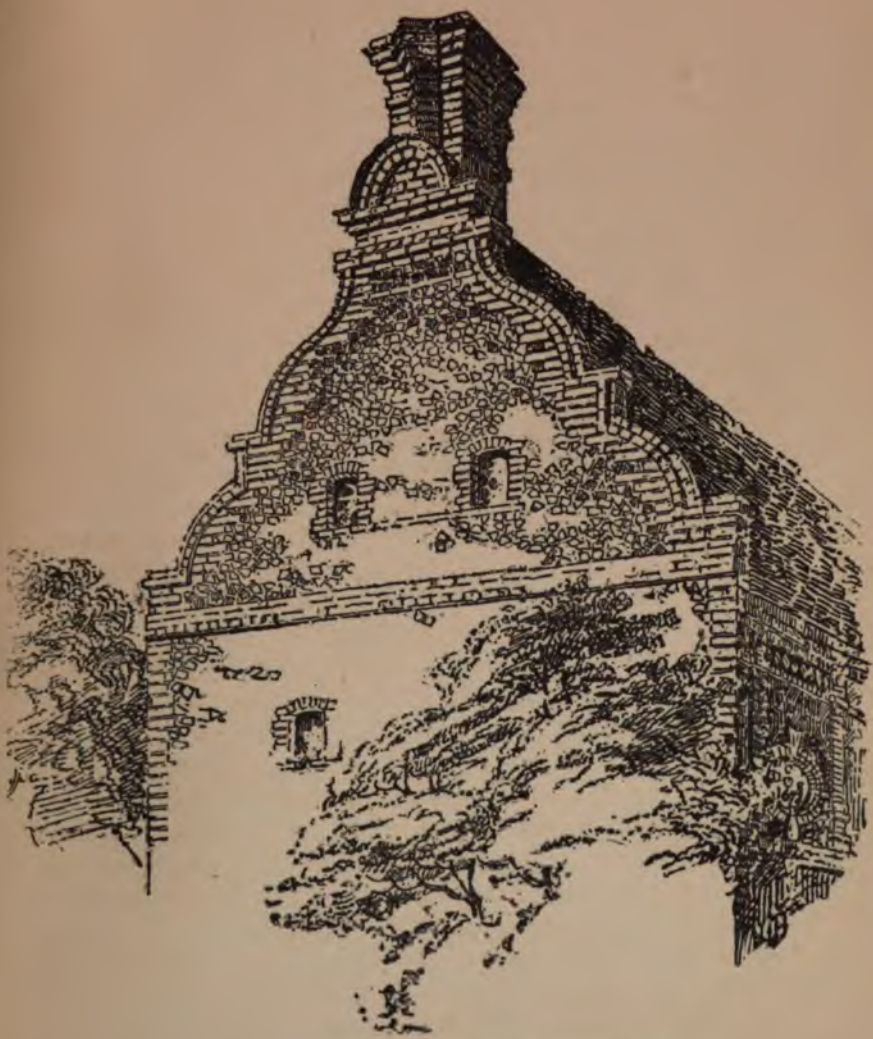
s plate commemorates Richard Culmer,
ret his wife. He is said to have died
er, 1434,† or probably in 1435. Among
for the benefit of St. Peter's poor, who
d Friday the rent of six acres of land
ch. Another bequest was directed to
the roads at *Collyswood* and *Hayne;* for
ulmer ordered 2½ acres of his land at
.. He had purchased that land from

was named by Culmer as one of his
(Dumpton) still clings to a house and
parish of St. Peter's.
y had always much influence at Broad-
nerally to have used it well. To that
atering-place of Broadstairs, undoubt-
ce. The foundation of the place may
s of access to the shore, afforded by
he cost, of the Culmer family, more

te.
p. 53, 172 and 209; but Lewis gives the date
dix, p. 90) although, on page 92, he gives the will
ate 6th January, 1434.

than four hundred years ago. In 1440 (as Mock tells us*) a gateway to the sea at Broadstairs v built by Mr. Culmer; and in 1460 (he adds) Broadstairs P was built by Mr. George Culmer. In 1564 Broadstairs P and the road to it was, according to Hasted, and to Mocket the fee estate of the Culmer family. The inhabitants, a the latter, numbered 186 in that year. Hasted says there w then 98 inhabited houses in Broadstairs. In 1616, L Zouch confirmed the decrees or regulations for Broadst harbour; these decrees gave to the Pier-wardens autho to meet annually in the Vestry of St. Peter's church, choose pier-wardens for the following year.† In the chu is a monument to Daniel Culmer who died in 1690.‡ house called Milton Place, in Broadstairs, was probably b by him for his own residence. It bears the initials D. & S. and the date 1673. Through Mr. Seddon's generosity we able to give two illustrations of Milton Place, which see to have acquired its present name from Mr. Milton, w married a Culmer heiress. John Culmer was interred St. Peter's churchyard in 1709.‡ An Act was passed throu Parliament, in 1792, for the repair and the rebuilding Broadstairs Pier,§ and in 1798 Sir John Henniker, at l own expense, repaired the archway to Broadstairs Gatew and Pier.|| Sir John Henniker had a summer residence Broadstairs at that time.¶ Probably the Gateway, r paired by him, was that which Mr. Culmer built A.D. 144 Some short distance above it stood the little chapel St. Mary of Bradstow, to which, as Lewis tells us,** sailo used formerly to shew respect, by lowering the top-sail as their vessels passed it. There is no evidence whereby decide whether this chapel was erected by Culmer, togeth with his Gateway, or whether the chapel was of great antiquity. There was at Broadstairs an ancient windm which, in 1657, was occupied by William Gray, to whom, that year, Richard Mockett sold 16 quarters of wheat 41s. 6d. In the same year R. Mockett began harvest on t

* *Journal*, p. 109. † *Ibidem*, p. 5. ‡ *Ibidem*, p. 209.
§ *Ibidem*, p. 31. || *Ibidem*, p. 51.
¶ Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, x., 364. ** Lewis' *Hist. of Tenet*, p. 119



GABLE AT MILTON PLACE, BROADSTAIRS.

DIAPERED GABLE IN HIGH STREET, BROADSTAIRS.

21st of July.* There is in High Street, Broadstairs, a house built about the time of William III, with a gable prettily diapered in bricks and flints. Mr. Seddon supplies us with an admirable illustration of it.

John Mockett in his *Journal* states that, in 1831, the footpath from Broadstairs to Stone and the North Foreland was first converted into a carriage road.†

Lewis in the Appendix (pp. 87 to 91) to his *History of Tenet* gives *in extenso* the inscriptions upon several monuments in St. Peter's church; and Mockett in his *Journal*, pp. 208-210, prints a long list of persons whose tombstones appear either in the church or in the churchyard.

I will mention but one more; the brass plate commemorating John Sacket, who died 24th February, 1623. The inscription is given in full by Lewis (*Appendix*, p. 91). The Sacket family seems to have been settled in St. Peter's Parish for several centuries, and their name still clings to a place called Sackets Hill in the northwest portion of the parish. On the Subsidy Roll written in 1327 for the Hundred of Ringslow, I find the names of William Saket and John Saket, assessed for considerable sums.‡ During the following century another member of this family, John Sakett, making his will on St. Thomas' day 1444, bequeathed the sum of £5, which was then in the hands of Nicholas Underdown, for the purpose of purchasing three ornamental altarcloths, to decorate this church. These were not for one altar, but, as the erroneous custom of the Middle Ages multiplied altars in honour of various saints, so here in St. Peter's Church, there were several altars. Amongst them, three were dedicated in honour of St. James the Apostle, St. Mary of Pity, and St. Margaret. For each of these altars John Sakett directed his executors to purchase a covering *(tres pallas pro dicta Ecclesia pro tribus Altaribus)* with the five pounds which he bequeathed.§

Among the Domestic State Papers are many which illustrate the condition of St. Peter's Parish during the seven-

* Mockett's *Journal*, p. 26. † *Ibidem*, p. 137.
‡ Lay Subsidy, Kent, in Public Record Office, $\frac{123}{16}$ memb. 13*.
§ Lewis' *Hist. of Tenet*, p. 115 note.

teenth century. In the *Muster Roll*, October 12th and 13th, 1614, we find that St. Peter's furnished 25 corslets. Amongst the inhabitants bound to furnish them were, John Thatcher 1, Silvester Tirrett 1, Richard Culmer 1, Thomas Fleete 1, James Boykett 1, Thomas Craft (of Bromstone, probably) 2, Manasses Norwood gent. 3, John Sackett sen. 2, Edward Dyer 1, Robert Norwood 1, Anthony Norwood 1, etc. etc. (*D. S. P.*, James I, vol. lxxviii., No. 72).

In March 1623, the returns shew that in St. Peter's parish dwelt ninety-five mariners and seafaring men, between the ages of eighteen and sixty years. (*D. S. P.*, James I, cxl., 64.)

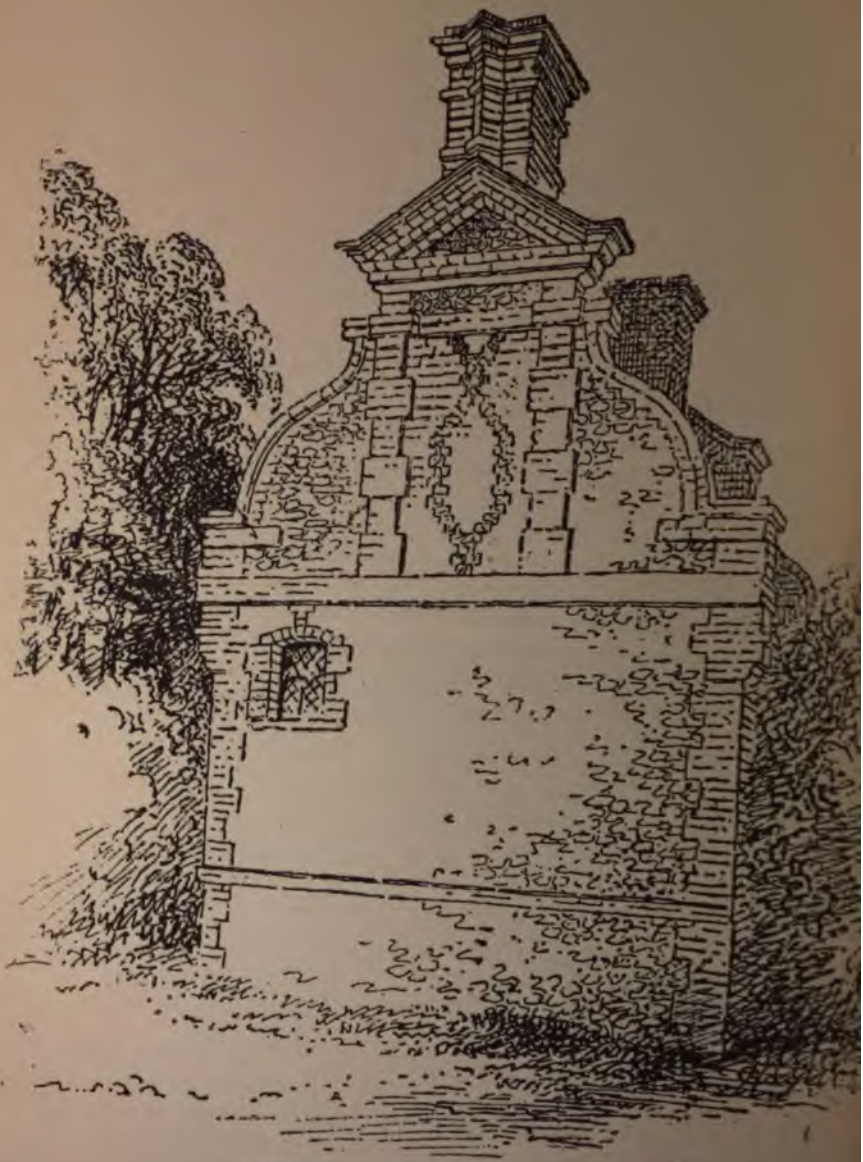
The following returns are given *in extenso* :—

St. Peters.* A true and perfict List of all the Souldiers which were Billetted in the parishe of St Peters in the Isle of Thanet in the Countie of Kent from the 22 day of Januarie 1627 vntill the 29 day of July 1628, they beinge of Sargeant Mayor Dawsons Companie, they beinge billetted 27 weekes.

Manasses Norwood Esquire (Billetted) Bartholomew Leper 27 weeks. And Leiftenant Rogers, came one ye 30th of Januarie & he removed the 14th of March. And Leiftenant Moone came into his rome and continued vntill there removall.

Residents.	*Soldiers billeted.*
Thomas Croft	John Carllie 27 weekes
William Sackett	William Gunne 27 weekes
George Marley	Richard Moninges 27 weekes
Symon Croft	Andrewe Oliuer 27 weekes
John Russell	George Pittes "
Richard Pawlen	James Sparrowe "
Michaell Pawlen	ffraunces Dickson "
Edward Wild	Robert Prentice "
Robert Read	Richard Sharpe "
George Baldocke	Isaac Archard "
Nicholas Samson	Thomas fflake "
John Hall	Thomas Taylor "
Guilford Culmer	Robert Waad "
William Norwood	John Joyce "
Michaell Norwood	Henry Church 27 weekes

* *Domestic State Papers*, Charles I, vol. cxiii., No. 59, II.



GABLE IN READING STREET, THANET.

A note of twelve Souldiers wch were Billetted at St Peters in the Isle of Thanet for ffive dayes wch were of Sargeant Mayor Dawson Companye.

Robert Davies, Charles Miller, Christopher Harson, Thomas Smith, Josephe Dakines, James Taylor, Thomas Taylor, ffraunces Raynes, John Waad, Henry ffilde, John Alline, Henry Skinte.

The Muster Roule* of the Select Compani in the parishes of St Johns St Peeters and Burchington in thyle of Thanett in the County of Kent containeing the names of the Captain officers and souldyers of the same.

Paule Cleybrooke, captaine, esquire
Manasses Norwood, Liuetenant, gen.
William Cleybrooke, ensigne, gen.
Richard Gosby } Sargants
Thomas Crafte }
Henry Jones clerke
Nathaniell Waighyll Drummer

Corsletts.

John Cocklinge	Richard Hallett	Nicholas Norwood
Peeter Swynford	Henry Stedman	Edward Adderfull
John Sharpe	Henry Pett	John Smyth
John Hodges	John Pynck	William Symons
Samuell Legate	Robert Edinger	Henry Penny
George Pett	John Wyther	Adam Coosin
John Tomlyn	William Tomlyn	Thomas Boyes
Elias Arnold	Richard Reynolds	John Adye
Thomas Poole	Thomas Nashe	Thomas Kempe
Robert Gore	John Sackett	William Reynoldes
John Pannell	Robert Gusson	James Nicholas
Alexander ffleete	Edward Wyle sen.	Henry Careys
Nicholas Owenden	Henry Graunt	William Colman
George Totenham	James Boykett	John Smyth
Thomas Kennytt	William Graunt	John Austen
Robert ffurman	Robert Norwood jun^r^	John Johnson
Robert Vincle	Edward ffuller	Richard Maye
John Greenstreete	Thomas Emtage	Daniell ffreind. 60.
Nicholas Woolman	Thomas Smyth	
Edward Wytherden	George Marley	

Musquets.

Gylbert Dod	Abdias Peerce	Heugh Johnson
William Payne	Thomas ffuller	Zachary Byllinghurst
Thomas Wheatly	James Jones	John Martin
Henry Pannell	Daniell Pamphett	John Laminge

* *Domestic State Papers*, James I, vol. cviii., No. 9.

Musquets.

William Laminge	John Smyth	John Sprackling
Anthony Curlinge	Mathew Jinkinson	John Phylpott
Paule Graunt	Robert Yonge	Edward Start
Zachary Ranshorne	William ffantinge	Robert Graunt
John Elsetter	John Hewes	Nicholas Dawson
Richard Polin	Rowland Shurth	Thomas Norwood
John Pantry	William Sackett jun^{r}	Lewis Maxsted
George Abbott	James Stone	Michaell Norwood
William Spryngett	Andrew Langly	George Wytherden
William Sackett sen^{r}	John Thurlo	James Weste
Richard Muzred	Edward Jinkyn	Richard Gee
John Goodwyn	William Samson	William Vffington
Edward Toddy	Roger Laminge	John Ayers
William Hinchawe	Thomas Elwood	John ffoxe
Austen Lushenden	Jeremy Samson	Richard Mockett
Symon Owery	George Baldocke	Edward Colman
Thomas Brooman	John Cullmer	Vincent Underdowne
Michaell Greedier	Robert Reade	Mathewe Cantis
John Prince	John Stone	William Norwood
Robert Wythers	Michaell Polin	Thomas Cullmer
John Gosby	William Chiles	William Jordan
Robert Peerce	Thomas fflecte	Richard Colman
William Alexander	Gylford Cullmer	Robert Cavell
Henry Collmer	Valentine Cocklinge	Robert Cwimiell ? 80

Waggons two.

Waggoners { Robert Reade. Robert Edinger.

(Signed) PAULE CLEAYBROOKE, Capt.

Apryll the first 1619.

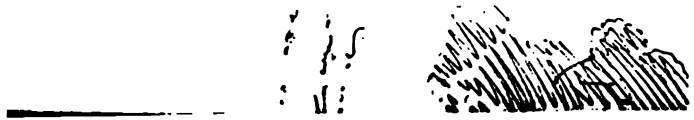
April 2nd 1619.* The Generall, or nott Selectted, Companie etc.

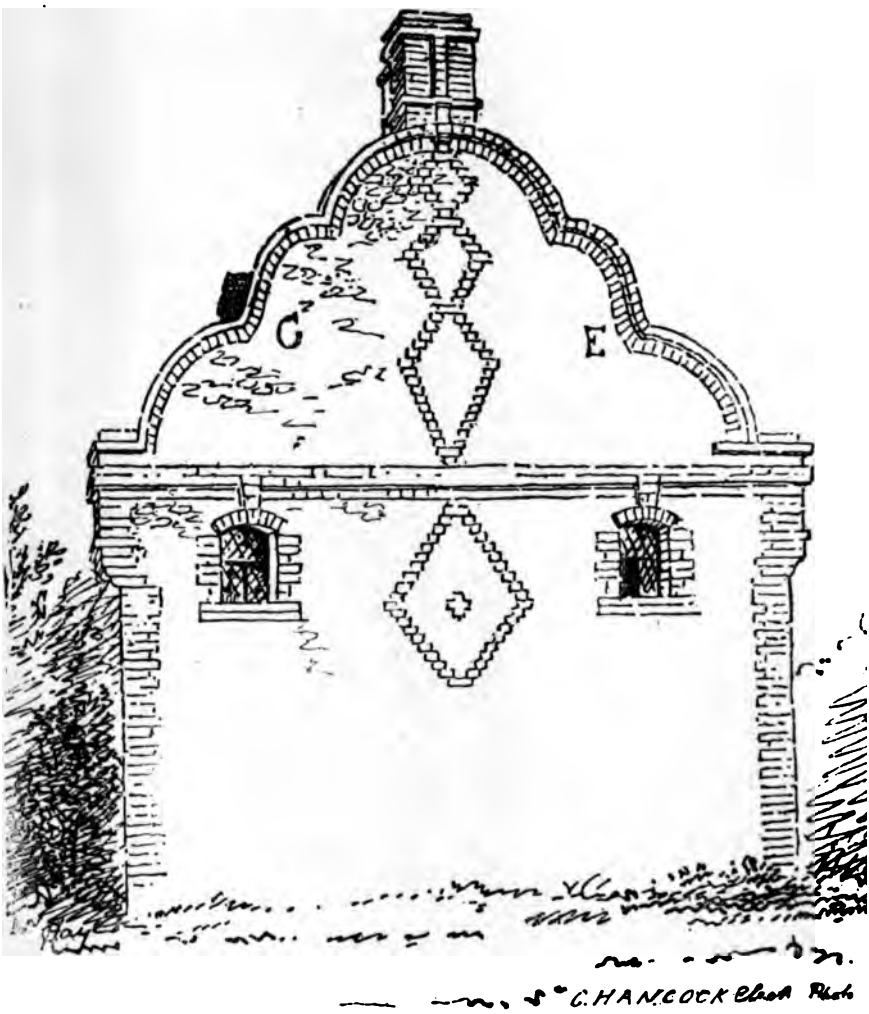
Valentine Pettit, gent., captayne
William Parker, Liuetenauntt
Thomas Busher, Ensigne
Richard Culmer } Sergeants
Andrew Sweetinge }
John Bennett Drum*mer*

Corsletts 30
Musketts 76
Dry Pykes 60

Among the items of intelligence recorded by Mocket respecting St. Peter's parish are these: In 1662 trainband

* *Domestic State Papers*, James I, vol. cviii., No. 10.





GABLE IN READING STREET, THANET.

were formed into companies, and those at St. Peter's were under the command of Messrs. Underdown, Mockett, and Witherden;* in 1786–7 umbrellas were used by three or four persons in St. Peter's;† in 1789 the Isle of Thanet harriers were kept at St. Peter's;‡ and in 1833 the very ancient house called the *Crown and Thistle* was pulled down, and rebuilt, in the village of St. Peter's.§ From its name we may suppose that this "ancient house" was built during the reign of James I.

Mockett records, as do Lewis and Hasted, the theft of the church plate and the consequent gift made on April 15, 1688, of the communion plate now in use, by Mrs. Lovejoy of Callis Grange; Nicholas White was then the vicar, and the churchwardens were Robert Witherden and George Carter.||

At the place called Kingsgate, Charles II and his brother James, Duke of York, landed on the 30th of June 1683. There had previously been there a gate called Barth'lem's or St. Bartholomew's Gate, henceforward it was called Kingsgate. Inscriptions narrating the incidents of the King's landing, and of the change of name, were placed upon the gate, but it was entirely washed away by the sea in March, 1819.¶

There are in Reading Street several houses of the time of William III, which have the pretty gables, so plentiful in Thanet. We are indebted to Mr. Seddon for the annexed illustrations of those houses. One of them bears the initials G. E. These plates enable us to see how varied were the forms of these pretty gable ends. Any readers who are well acquainted with Thanet will remember several such gable ends in High Street, Ramsgate; in St. Lawrence, not far from the church; in High Street, Margate; and many in Birchington, some of them bearing the initials of those who built them.

* *Journal*, p. 16. † *Ibidem*, p. 21. ‡ *Ibidem*, p. 31. § *Ibidem*, pp. 164, 165.
|| *Ibidem*, p. 52. ¶ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xci., part 2, pp. 319, 320.

Calais Grange, in St. Peter's.

Callis Court, or *Calais Grange*, is evidently a building of the fifteenth century, probably of the reign of Edward IV, but for how many centuries it has been known by this name does not appear. Thorn in his Chronicle (written in the fourteenth century) says that it was an ancient property of St. Augustine's Abbey. No doubt this small Court-house was erected as the centre and seat of the minute estate which comprised fifty-nine acres of land, and two-thirds of the great tithes of St. Peter's parish.*

William Caleys appears as witness to a charter in the thirteenth century.†

An early schedule of the "Gabulum de Mergate"‡ contains the name of *Adam Calisun* and partners 12d.; this probably was in the reign of Edward I.

In the Subsidy Roll of 1 Ed. III (1327), I find the name of *Robert Caleson* entered as liable for 18¼d. in Thanet. Descending to the sixteenth century, the Birchington registers record that Thomas Callis, of St. Peter's parish, stood as sponsor for a child named Cavell on the 25th of February, 1579. Thus, as the surname of a family in Thanet, the name Caleys or Calisun can be traced back for six centuries at least. Probably the small estate derived its name from that family. There was likewise a harbour called Cales Harbour within the limits of the manor of Downbarton. On behalf of Queen Elizabeth, as lady of that manor, wrecks of the sea, between Popehead Gate and Cales Harbour, were claimed for her, by Henry Paramore, Esq.§

By the generosity of Mr. John P. Seddon, the well-known

* John Mockett's *Journal*, p. 86, thus describes the St. Peter's tithes :—

	Acres.
Callis Grange corn tithes, including 40 acres of glebe	1154¼
Vicarial tithes	526¾
Salmstone Grange takes tithes of	170
Newland Grange takes tithes of	744
Total acreage of St. Peter's parish	2594½

† *Cotton. MSS.*, Claudius D. X., fol. 118 b.
‡ *Ibidem*, Faustina A. I., fol. 13 a.
§ *Domestic State Papers*, Elizabeth, vol. cxcv., No. 108.

architect, we are enabled to give an illustration of the front of Calais Court, or Grange, shewing the pargeting on its upper story. This plate is valuable, because the pargeted plaister has been destroyed since the drawing was made. Its ornamentation consisted of two large representations of the sun in its glory, and between them a geometrical device, such as we find used upon floors in painted glass and illuminations of the second half of the fifteenth century. The house has been much altered of late years, but in one of the bedrooms we can still see a tie beam and king-post of the original roof. This beam has beneath it two curved braces, each with two wide hollow mouldings. The king-post is octagonal, with moulded cap and base. It is evident that the room to which it belonged was open from the ground to the roof, and probably the existing building originally consisted of little more than one such large room or hall. Probably some portions of the original building have disappeared.*

In the seventeenth century the house was remodelled, as we learn from a piece of wood on which a date is carved.

Behind the house, but within four or five feet of it, there is just below the surface of the ground, but covered with boarding, the entrance to a series of four or five small subterranean chambers, excavated in the chalk. They were

* John Mockett's *Journal* gives (p. 175) some interesting statistics respecting the sums paid by lessees for the Calles Grange Corn Tithes of 1670 acres of land. After Mrs. Lovejoy's death, in March 1694, the estate was let by auction to W. Emptage, at £185 16s. 8d. per annum, the price of wheat being £3 per quarter. Subsequently the rents and fines paid by lessees were as follows :—

Date.	Annual Rent.	Average price of wheat per quarter.	Fine paid to Dean and Chapter.
	£	£ s. d.	£
1702	180	2 0 10	144
1709	180	3 9 7	140
1716	180	2 0 5	140
1723	180	1 12 10	175
1730	200	1 9 4	217
1737	200	1 13 6	
1765	270	2 3 1½	292
1777	451	2 8 10	292
1790	630	2 16 0	
1797	700	4 0 3	730
1804	785	5 5 0	612
1818	996	5 16 0	1123
1822	602	3 11 0	789
1828	608	2 15 0	858
1835	552	2 5 0	608

clearly used as cellars or store places, and may possibly have done much service in the days of wholesale and systematic smuggling, or in storing corn during troublous times of dearth.

Monkton.

Mr. MacLachlan's interesting account, of the Manor and Church of Monkton,* should be consulted by all who desire information respecting them. Some mediæval inhabitants of Monkton were formerly remembered in Sandwich, and in Canterbury, as benefactors. John Malyn of Monkton, who in 1450 was one of Jack Cade's followers, is enrolled among the benefactors of the Carmelite monks at Sandwich. By his will made in 1464 he left to them forty pence.†

Another Monkton worthy was not only generous himself, but his generosity kindled and directed that of others. Libby Orchard of Monkton Court provided, in his will, for the clothing of certain poor people at Canterbury. His idea was taken, as a model, by Sir Roger Manwood, chief baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1592. In his will, Sir Roger directs his executors to provide every year, on St. Andrew's Day, for six good and honest poor folk *such gowns, caps, and shoes as by the testament of Libye Orchardc, late of Monkton, deceased, were given to sundry poor about Canterbury.*‡ The memorial brass of Libby Orchard, mentioned by Mr. MacLachlan as having been inserted upon the stone slab which commemorated a priest of the fifteenth century, is not named by Lewis in his *History of Tenet.* Hasted, who wrote eighty years after Lewis, notices the memorial as being then in Monkton Church, but gives its date incorrectly, as 1680 instead of 1580. In the church of St. Mary Magdalen at Canterbury, an inscribed brass plate was seen by Mr. Somner, which commemorated Sybell, widow of Libby Orchard, late of Monkton Court in Thanet, she died in 1586.§

Doubts having been expressed respecting the actual

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, XII., p. 273.
† Boys' *Hist of Sandwich*, p. 178.
‡ *Ibidem*, p. 266.
§ Hasted, xi., 242, note.

Christian name, of which "Libby" was the contracted or "pet" form, it is interesting to see the name written at full length in the Birchington Registers. There I find it recorded that at the baptism of a child on the 19th of March, 1572, the godparents, or sponsors (*susceptores*), were Richard Crispe, *armiger*, *Lebeus Orchard*, and the wife of Henry Crispe, gentleman. When his wife acted as sponsor at Birchington Church, on the 26th of September, 1576, Mr. Orchard's name is again entered at length in the register. The names of the sponsors on that occasion are thus recorded in Latin, "Thoma Parker de Mouncketoun, Lactantius Cole, *et uxor Lebbei Orcharde*." After the death of Lebbeus Orchard his widow is named as a sponsor at Birchington on 22nd of April, 1562, as *Sbella Orchard vidua*.

There is in Monkton Church a brass plate in memory of the wife of the above-mentioned Thomas Parker; it is thus inscribed:—

"Here lyeth bvried the body of Margaret Parkar who had two husbands. I. George Robinsonn gent: by whom she had issue divers children. II. Thomas Parkar gent. by whom she had no issue. ye sayd Margaret Parkar deceased ye 11 of Mar. An'o Dni. 1607 and in the 88 yeare of her naturall age."

In the left hand corner of the bottom of the plate are these enigmatical letters "Ve M." As this inscription is imperfectly given by Lewis, it seemed well to record it here. Thomas Parker dwelt in Gore Street, Monkton.

Considerable interest attaches to the memory of one of those sinecure rectors, of Monkton, whose presentation to the rectory, by Archbishop Baldwin, caused so much litigation in the twelfth century. The "Canterbury Letters," printed by Professor Stubbs in his *Memorials of Richard I*, give many details respecting the matter.

The first dignitary whom Baldwin nominated to Monkton Rectory was a canon of St. Paul's, named Henry de Norhamtune. He held the Prebend of Kentish town from 1181 to 1192, and founded the hospital of St. Paul. In the year 1187 Pope Urban besought the Archbishop to restore Monkton Rectory to the Priory of Christ Church, but he pleaded

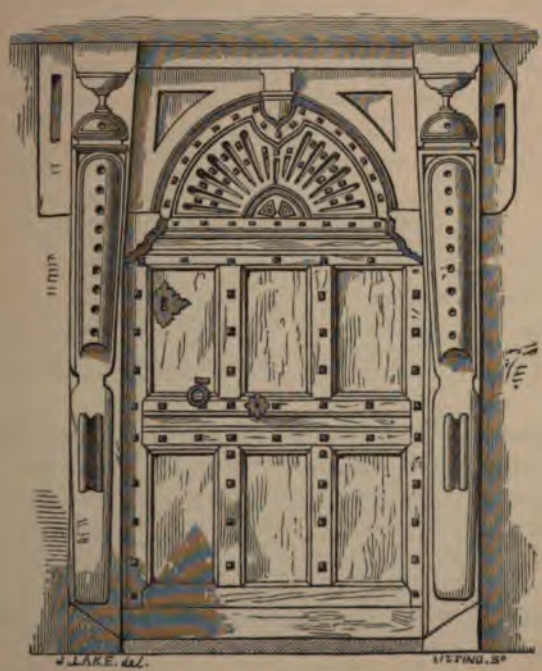
in vain. On the 11th of August, 1191, the cause of the Priory against the Canon H. de Norhamtune was tried at Windsor,* but without any decisive result. The King seems to have been favourable to the Archbishop's nominee. On Norhamtune's death, the dignitary nominated as his successor in Monkton Rectory, by Baldwin, was a man of great influence and usefulness. Simon Fitz Robert† de Welles (son of Robert de Wattelai), called also Simon Sywell, although very serviceable to the diocese of Wells, of which he was archdeacon, and to Chichester, of which he was bishop from 1204 to 1207, was twice placed in a false position in the diocese of Canterbury. The Rectory of Monkton, which he was summoned to give up in January 1199, or else shew cause to the contrary in the Court at Westminster on the 10th of May,‡ was ultimately left in his possession for life. It was, however, stipulated that he must pay an annual pension of ten "*aurea*" to the vicar appointed by the Prior.§ He was not so fortunate with respect to the church of Faversham, to which he was appointed by King John about the year 1201. The monks of Faversham, who claimed the patronage, opposed the admission of Simon de Welles, and a riot ensued. The King was enraged by their resistance, and sent soldiers, who, having pulled out the monks by their ears, kept possession of Faversham Church, for Simon and the King. This unseemly squabble was ended by the wisdom and influence of Archbishop Hubert, the Chancellor. He persuaded the King to withdraw his claim, and thus Simon lost the preferment of Faversham. He had, however, great favour with the King, and was Provost of Beverley, Guardian of the Fleet Prison, and Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom (under the Archbishop, who was Chancellor), as well as Archdeacon of Wells and Rector of Monkton. When he became Bishop of Chichester, he obtained from King John the advowson of Bapchild in Kent, for the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, to whom it had been previously promised, but not conveyed.

In 1674, when the hearth tax was gathered in Monkton,

* *Memorials of Richard* I, p. 342. ‡ *Ibidem*, p. 472.
† *Sussex Archæological Collections*, xxii., pp. 179-81.
§ Decision, dated Nov. 6, 1200, *Memorials of Richard* I, p. 513.

thirty-one houses there were taxed for ninety hearths, and three houses were, from poverty, exempted. The largest houses in "Mounton Parish" seem to have been those of William Rooke, Esq., nine hearths; Mr. Henry Paramore, eight hearths; Mr. Henry Crispe, seven hearths. Six hearths were charged to each of the four following gentlemen,—Mr. Roger Taddy, Stephen Dunston, Matthew Cantis, and Richard Goldfinch. Valentine Cantis and Thomas Parker were each of them taxed for five hearths. William Smith was the "bosholder."

Monkton Court is an old building, but from it most of the characteristic features have disappeared. The ancient Vicarage Farm, occupied by Mr. Collard, retains much of its original mediæval appearance, but it will probably soon be pulled down. Mr. James Lake, of Monkton, has kindly sketched for us an Elizabethan door, which now appears in a cottage near his Hoo Farm, in Minster.



COTTAGE DOOR NEAR HOO FARM, MINSTER, THANET.

St. Nicholas at Wade.

Crump Farm, in this parish, is not mentioned in any of the histories of Thanet; it was unnoticed by Lewis and by Hasted. Yet the house is ancient; its foundation walls are three feet thick, as Mr. Bubb informs me, and in its cellar are niches and windows which may be three or four hundred years old. When the Kent Archæological Society visited St. Nicholas in August, 1877, Mr. John Dadds kindly welcomed such of the members as desired to see the inscription over a mantelpiece in one of the rooms. The date, 1634, is painted in red figures between sundry ornamental scrolls. The central ornament is not unlike a stag's head with a goblet standing between its horns. The whole is surrounded by a simple escalloped border painted in red and blue. The chief interest lies in the date, as there is no artistic merit in the painting. The mantelpiece over which it is inscribed surmounts a huge open fireplace of the olden time.

Mr. Robert Bubb first drew the Society's attention to this inscription, and stated his opinion that the house itself was more than a century older than the date, 1634. The name of the farm, when compared with the record of Archbishop Warham's Visitation, held in 1511, enables us to verify his suggestion. Crump farm is, clearly, so called from the name of a previous occupant; but that name is almost unknown in the parish records. The period when the name was known there may be gathered from the following entries, in the Register of Archbishop Warham, dated Sept. 11th, 1511:—

Compertum est, that wher'as oon Dauid Crompe, Wardeyn somtyme of the said church [*St Nicholas*] had xiii^c weight and lx of lede that was belonging to the said church, and soo conuerted hit to his vse, and at his departure in his last will and testament willed his executors to restore it agayn to the churche, or ells the value of the same. John Duklyng and the wif of the said Dauid Crompe beyng executors withdrawith it, and will not see it paid (*Register*, fol. xlvii. a).

In response to this presentment at the Visitation, we

read that, on the 7th of December, 1511, appeared William Crump of the city of Canterbury, and said that he had not administered any goods of David Crump deceased; but David's widow, who had since died, and John Duklyng of London were the executors (folio lxij. *a*.)

We gather from these entries that this house was named Crump Farm, from the family which occupied it at the close of the fifteenth century; and that the last of the name here was David Crump, who had been churchwarden. He and his widow were both dead before 1511, and his nearest relative seems then to have resided at Canterbury.

Frost's Farm, in this parish, is by Lewis said to have been "*anciently* parcel of the estate of the Paramors." Hasted follows with the more careful statement that this "was the early residence of the family of Paramore." It seems to me to be evident that Lewis's statement is quite erroneous, and that the Paramores did not reside in St.

CHIMNEY AT FROST'S FARM, ST. NICHOLAS AT WADE.

Nicholas parish before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The farm is obviously named from previous occupants, and we find in Thanet, during the year 1441, John Frost, whose name is enrolled amongst those of the numerous persons who then held land which belonged to St. Augustine's Abbey.* From his family the farm was named. But even his name was slightly changed in form from the original name of the family, which seems to have been Forst, rather than Frost. Amongst the witnesses to charters connected with Thanet we find John Forst and Stephen Forst, in 37 Hen. III (1253), together with Robert de Ramesgate;† John Forst is named, with Robertus dictus Vicecomes, in 1266; and Stephen Forst, with D^s Reginaldus Vicecomes, and Robertus Vicecomes, in 1268.‡

The north chancel, within St. Nicholas Church, belongs to Frost's Farm, and what is the oldest monument therein? A brass in memory, not of a Paramore, but of Valentyne Edvarod and his two wives. He died in 1559, and his widow Joan (an heiress of Haslehurst) married as her second husband Thomas Paramore. The monumental brass of Valentine Edvarod occupies the place of honour on the floor of Frost's chancel, and there can be little doubt that Edvarod occupied Frost's Farm. Probably an Everard had married a Frost heiress. Upon the north wall (not in the floor) are two monuments commemorative of the Paramores. One of them records the fact that Thomas Paramore (who married the widow Edvarod) "*lived in this Parish* xxxiii *yeres and dyed the* ix *day of October* 1593 *and in the* 67*th yere of his age.*" This very unusual record make it quite certain that Thomas Paramore did not come to reside in St. Nicholas parish until he was in the 34th year of his age. The date of his arrival was probably October, 1560. Comparing this date with the death of Valentine Edvarod, in February, 1569-60, we may safely infer that Thomas Paramore came to reside in St. Nicholas because he had married as his third wife, or was about to marry, the widowed heiress Joan Edvarod, who survived until 1574, and bore him his first children, Henry

* Lewis, *History of Tenet*, Appendix, p. 29.
† *Cotton. MSS.*, Claudius D. X., fol. 118^a.
‡ *Ibidem.* fol. 117^b, 118^a.

and Joan. With this inference, that the Paramores were not settled at Frost's or in St. Nicholas before 1560, agrees the grant of arms made to them. Not until the year 1585 did Cooke, Clarenceux King at Arms, grant to Paramour of St. Nicholas his coat:—*Azure*, a fess embattled between three estoiles *or*. Crest:—A cubit arm, vested *azure*, cuffed *argent*, the hand *proper*, holding an estoile of six points wavy *or*.* Thomas Paramore married a fourth wife after the death of Joan in 1574. His son by the fourth wife was named Thomas. The house at Frost's was built, or refaced, by Thomas Paramore, who married Joan Everard. One gable end bears his initials, T. P., and part of the date, which probably was MDXC. or MDLX. Both his sons, Henry and Thomas, seem ultimately to have migrated to Monkton. The son named Thomas was, I believe, the benefactor who, by his will, in 1636 or 1637, left money to endow a school for poor children at St. Nicholas.

In the Parliamentary Survey of the rectory buildings at St. Nicholas we find this description of them, dated May 27, 1647:—"One barn of eight bays, and a cove, covered with tile; one stable, thatched; a fothering yard (part walled with a mud wall and part severed with boards) in reasonable repair. The occupier is Daniel Harvey, Esq., or his assigns. There are twelve acres of glebe (chalky land) abutting to land of Averie [*Savin*]. The tithes amount to £213 per annum. The original rent reserved to the Bishop is £40. The chancel of the church is in reasonable good repair."†

St. Nicholas Church, which contains specimens of the four principal styles of architecture, has been admirably described by Mr. Joseph Clarke, F.S.A.‡ The exquisite arches of latest Norman transition work, the Early English details in the chancels; the glorious decorated work of the tower (S.W.), which is open to the south aisle and to the nave; the Decorated windows and wooden screen work; the Perpendicular north arcade and aisle, with the late clerestory, have all been elaborately illustrated by Mr. Clarke. Upon

* Planché's *A Corner of Kent*, p. 380, note.
† Lambeth MSS., *Parliamentary Surveys*, vol. iii. (C), p. 108.
‡ *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XII., p. 19-26.

the pulpit's "reredos," which supports the sounding board, is inscribed the date 1615, with the initials of two churchwardens I. S. and E. E. No doubt the latter letters stand for Edward Emptage; but I cannot say for whom the letters I. S. were intended.

In 1674 thirty-four persons in St. Nicholas paid the hearth tax (on 94 hearths), and four were, from poverty, excused. The largest houses were those of Mr. John Cullen twelve hearths; Robert Smith seven hearths: Thomas Bridges, two houses, one with six, the other with five hearths; Edward Bridges, five hearths; Mr. John Finch four hearths. In All Saints Burrough seven persons were taxed for thirty hearths; the principal houses being those of Mr. Edward Philpot, seven hearths; Mr. Moses Napleton, seven hearths; Robert Grant, five hearths. In Sarre, seventeen houses contained forty-seven hearths. Of these, seven hearths were charged to William Sawyer, and six to W. Earethorne. John Bing was the "bosholder" of St. Nicholas, for the year during which that tax was gathered.

Birchington.

Birchington is the only parish in Thanet, that could be supposed to derive its name from a Saxon family which settled there; and even with respect to this name it may be doubted whether there was a family of *Birchingas*, or descendants of Birch. Undoubtedly, however, this place was occupied at a very early period.

One relic of its early inhabitants, found here, many years ago, was a Saxon coin called a *scœtta*, of the reign of ÆPA, King of Mercia, who was slain in A.D. 642. An engraving of this ancient coin is given by Mr. Roach Smith in the first volume of his *Collectanea Antiqua*.*

Upon many maps of Thanet we see Epalds Bay marked, in Birchington. This is clearly a Saxon name, and, *if the maps are correctly marked*, it should have some claim, I think, to be identified with the *Ippelesfleot* mentioned in Gotselinus'

* Vol. i., plate xxiii., fig. 3.

Life of St. Mildred, as the port into which her ship, on one occasion, came.*

For several centuries Birchington has been a limb of Dover, one of the Cinque Ports. Consequently it was under the jurisdiction of a deputy appointed by the Mayor and Jurats of Dover. In the year 1526, the Corporation of Dover received, from the various "limbs" of that Port, contributions towards the cost of its suit for the discharge of a subsidy. Amongst them it enumerates "*The Deputy of Birchington and Goresend* 16*s.* 8*d.*"† The mention of two names suggests the existence of two distinct quays, or landing places, one in Birchington village, the other at the outlying hamlet of Goresend. When both are mentioned, sometimes one is named first, sometimes the other, but in many cases Goresend is not mentioned at all, it being evidently a mere outlying hamlet of Birchington. For instance, in June, 1523, we find mention of one list of Jurors in the five ports, including "Mergate and St. Johns, St. Peters and Byrchyngton," while another list names Mergate and St. Peters, Goresende and Byrchington.‡ The ancient map of Thanet, drawn *circa* A.D. 1414, does not mention Goresend, although it names both Berchingtone and Wodecherche, and marks a church at each of them, as well as at "All Saints."

On the 18th of March, 1565, certain special commissioners made a return of the number of boats, population, houses and officials in the members and limbs of the Cinque Ports. They do not mention Goresend, but they state that Birchington was under the government of the Mayor and Jurats of Dover, that it contained forty-two inhabited houses, and had neither ship, nor boat. In or about the year 1584 Vincent Underdown, deputy of Birchington, certified that there were but three fishermen at that place, all of whom were in the

* Jam uirgo domini angelico ductu et felici cursu patriam attigit et puppis currens in portum uirginalis insule qui ippelesfleot dicitur successit. *Harl. MSS.* 3908, 22[b]; *Cotton. MSS.*, Vespasian B., xx., 156 a.

† *Egerton MSS.* (Brit. Mus.), 2092, fol. 276, 9th of April, 1526. From St. John's, 13s. 6d.; from St. Peter's, 13s. 6d.; from the Deputy of Mergate and St Johns 26s. 8d.; from the Deputy of St. Peters, 16s. 8d.; from the Deputy of Birchington and Goresend, 16s. 8d.; from the Wardens of Folston, 46s. 8d.; from the Mayor and Wardens of Faversham, 40s.

‡ Brewer's *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. iii., part 2, p. 1290.

The 3 Soldiers billets for one weeke at iij^{s} vj^{d} a peece *per* weeke is x^{s} vj^{d}.

The Leiuetenant's billett for one weeke at vij^{s} *per* weeke is vij^{s}

So the whole sume is xiij^{li} ix^{s} vj^{d}

There was continual contention respecting the rights to wreck of the sea. The Warden of the Cinque Ports claimed all wrecks within the limbs and members of those Ports; while the Lords of manors asserted their claims to wrecks within their manors. Thus, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Dean and Chapter, of Christ Church, claimed all wrecks from Pope head gate, *alias* Pope gate, to Westgate Bay in Birchington, in right of their manor of Monkton. Henry Crispe Esquire, in like manner, claimed wrecks from the mainland to low water mark, within certain of his land, in Birchington, called Brockmans.* In 1602 the Judge of the Lord Warden's Admiralty Court investigated these various claims, and, amongst other items of information, we learn that the Lord Warden's advocate would not bring forward, as a witness, John Underdown of Birchington, because he answered wholly on Mr. Wotton's part.† Mr. Wotton claimed wrecks at the Hope at Cliffs End by Stonor and Pegwell, from Tarryes way to the liberties of Sandwich.

The Parish Accounts for Birchington, and those for the Ville of Wood, during the past 250 years, are still in existence. The "cess," or rate, levied upon the parishioners was of a comprehensive kind. It touched both land and income; realty and personalty. The land, in 1620, was assessed at 1d. per acre; how much in the pound was charged for "ability" rate I cannot discover. The effect however was, for example, that in 1620 Sir Henry Crispe knight, paid £1 0s. 6d. for 246 acres, and likewise £1 5s. 0d. for "ability rate." Henry Crispe, Esq., paid nothing for land, but was charged 6s. for ability rate. Thirty-six years later, in January, 1656, Henry Crispe, Esq., paid 13s. 4d. for "ability," while he likewise paid on 274 acres of land. At the same

* *Dom. State Papers*, Elizabeth, vol. cxcv., No. 108.
† *Fifth Report of Historical MSS. Commission*, p. 140.

time Sir Nicholas Crispe, his son, paid 11d. for ability rate, and also paid for eleven acres of land.

In 1631, when a dearth of corn caused much distress, the parish officers of the Ville of Wood bought about twenty-four bushels of wheat, at prices varying from 6s. 3d. to 7s. 6d. per bushel, and sold them to the poor at 4s. per bushel. They likewise bought barley which was much cheaper.

What pestilence happened during 1644 we do not know, but in the parish account book we read, "This yeare the Parishe beeing visited with Godes heauye hande, there weare 3 assessments made and confirmed for the use of the sicke and poore of Birchington; the first was made July 6, 1644; the second was made August 31st, 1644; the third was made October 6th, 1644; whereof the third and last is heere onlye registered."

Many of the entries in the parish accounts are of interest, but we can only notice very few.

				s.	d.
1688			To the Sidesmen, and four bottles of Cider at the Visitation	3	10
1690	July	9	To the ringers, for the Victory in Ireland	10	0
	Sept.	9	To the ringers, when the King came from Ireland	6	0
1691	Aug.	16	To a chirurgeon's widdow, whose husband was kil'd at the Boyne, in Ireland	2	6
1691	Oct.	20	To the ringers, when the King was at Margate.....	7.	6
1695	March	29	To the ringers, ringing for the Queen	2	3
	May	9	For three tovets of hair		
	Sept.	22	To the ringers when the King landed at Margate	7	0
1696-7	March	17	For killing 2 pould catts	2	0
		22	To the ringers, when the King was here	4	10
1697	May	28	To the ringers, when the King came to Quex	4	6
1698	April	12	For 6 dozen sparrows	1	0
			For Elias Hatcher, quaker, who will not pay his sess.....	4	0
			Paid for a wattle, to make a scaffold, when the church was pearged.....	1	0

		£	s.	d.
1698-9	(between 2 Easters) Spent when the King landed		10	0
	For a dozen sparrows' heads			2
	For killing a fox 1*s.*, 5 hedgehogs 1*s.* 8*d.*, For killing 125½ doz. sparrows		20	11
1716	For killing 8 dozen of rooks		2	8
172¾	For 21 hundred shingles for the steeple	5	5	0
	For putting them on	2	12	6
	For 798 foot of board	3	14	3
1729	Paid the Founders for casting and hanging the bells	25	0	0
1730	For 3125 shingles	7	16	3
	For laying them on	3	18	0½
	For 158 foot of board	2	12	8

When the Hearth or Chimney Tax* was collected in A.D. 1673–4, George Ruck was the deputy of Birchington, and 230 hearths were paid for, by the occupants of seventy-nine houses. Poor persons, who inhabited twenty-seven other houses, were excused from payment, because they received parochial relief. Thomas Crispe, Esq., of Quex, paid the tax for seventeen chimneys in that house, and also for six others in his farm house. The largest number of hearths paid for by any other inhabitant was that of seven in the house of Richard Davidge.

The family of Kentis, or Cantis, or Canteys, of which two or more branches were living in Monkton when the Hearth Tax was assessed, had, in the middle ages, property in Birchington. For instance, at Martinmas, 1309, Amisius

* The total number of hearths in Thanet in 1673-4 was as follows, and the total number of houses seems to have been 1142 :—

St. John's (Margate)	552	hearths, in	174	houses	(excused	100)
St. Peter's "	393	"	168	"	("	42)
West Boro' (St. Laurence)	253	"	100	"	("	107)
Ramsgate (")	234	"	92	"	("	73)
Birchington	230	"	79	"	("	27)
Minster	211	"	76	"	("	8)
St. Nicholas	94	"	34	"	("	4)
Monkton	90	"	31	"	("	3)
Sarre	47	"	17			
All Saints Boro' . . .	30	"	7			
	2134	hearths in	778	houses	(excused	364)

Kentis, and Agnes his wife, obtained from Richard de de Subury, for £20, a messuage, in "Bircheton and Thanet," consisting of thirteen acres of land, and three acres of marsh with appurtenances.*

Birchington Church.

Birchington was, until recently, a chapelry appendant to Monkton Church; and, like a neighbouring chapel, which was appendant to St. Nicholas Church, it was dedicated to All Saints, or All Hallows. It is a singular circumstance that two chapels, situated so near to each other, should have had the same dedication. Both buildings are marked upon the old map of Thanet, which was made about A.D. 1414.

The three conterminous chancels, and the tower, of Birchington Church seem to have been built during the reign, either of King John, or of his son Henry III. Like many others, erected at that period, its tower stands at the west end of the south chancel. Crowned with a shingled spire, this unpretending tower though low, and without buttresses, is graceful in its proportions, notwithstanding its simplicity. Divided into four stages, it has in its second stage a small Perpendicular square-headed window with label, on the south side; in its third stage there are lancets, and in its fourth stage are four windows, each of a single light. On the interior the tower is open on three sides, having three plain Early English arches rising from imposts.

The chancel has, on each side, a plain arcade of two Early English pointed arches, springing from simple imposts, resting on wall-like piers. The north, or Quex Chancel, has, above its western arch, a western lancet window; which is a very unusual feature. Of the same age as the chancels and tower, is the Font. It is a plain octagon, supported upon one large central, and four smaller, round shafts. These smaller shafts are not completely beneath the basin; but, in the centre of the base of each alternate side

* *Kent Times*, 3 Ed. II, No. 78. *Arch. Cant.* XI., 325.

of the octagon, there is a projection like one half of a circular cone, the base of which supports the outer half of each of the four small supporting shafts. The basin is original, the shafts have, apparently, been renewed.

The south doorway, which looks of Early style, is quite new, although old shaft-caps, found somewhere in the church, have been inserted in its jambs. The porch has four pretty little trefoiled lights, two on either side, each filled with coloured glass.

The broad nave of five bays, with its two narrow aisles, is of the Perpendicular style. The piers of the arcades are octagonal and have well moulded caps and bases; the arches are of two orders, each being widely chamfered. On the south side, the western bay is very peculiar, and shews a change of plan, or an inability to fulfil the architect's intentions. The south-western column, of the arcade, is larger than any other. Its plan is that of four clustered columns united, with semi-shafts at the points of junction. The arch which it supports is of three orders (instead of two), and at right angles to it, there is the spring of another similar arch which was intended to span the south aisle. The wall of the nave arcade, above this arch of three orders, is here thicker than the rest of the arcade wall, consequently there is a curious set off. In the south-west engaged pier there is, on the south side, a hole for a beam. It is not possible to state with certainty what the architect's intention was, but in all probability he proposed to erect a tower at the west end of the south aisle, similar (although far inferior) to the tower of St. Nicholas at Wade.

At present, between the west wall of the nave and the last bench, may be seen the curved and iron-bound cover of an ancient parish chest.

Part of the base of a fifteenth century rood-screen is preserved in the north chancel. Its panels were richly foliated; and above and below them ran pretty ornamental strings carved with quatrefoils and with diamond-shaped devices.

The monumental brasses, and mural slabs, are of considerable interest. Lewis in his *History of Tenet*, Appendix, pp. 21–7, gives, *in extenso*, the inscriptions on many of them.

(BIRCHINGTON CHURCH) TOMB OF SIR HENRY CRISPE AND HIS FIRST WIFE, KATHERINE SCOTT.

He copied them with commendable accuracy, but two of the inscriptions contain inaccurate statements respecting the families of ladies who became wives of the Crispes of Quex.

The monumental brasses represent, (i) John Queke, who died in 1449, (ii) Richard Queke, who died in 1459,* (iii) Henry Heynys, vicar of Monkton, who died in 1523. There was until recently another brass, which commemorated Margaret Cryspe, wife of John Cryspe of Cleave, and upon it was engraved the figure of a "chrisom'd" infant.

By the generous kindness of Mr. James Renat Scott, F.S.A., we are enabled to give an illustration of the altar tomb in the north chancel. Upon it are sculptured the life-size figures of Sir Henry Crispe and of his first wife, Katherine, daughter of Sir John Scott of Scot's Hall, in Smeeth. She was buried on the 9th of February, 1544–5; he survived her more than thirty years, married again, and was buried on the 24th of August, 1575. It is in connection with this lady, and with the wife of her son that the inscriptions make erroneous statements. Her son Nicholas Crispe, of Grimgill in Whitstaple, married, as his first wife, Frances Cheney, a daughter of Sir Thomas Cheney, of Shurland in Shepey, by his first wife Frideswide Frowycke. This lady was the sister of Henry, Lord Cheney, who died young without issue in 1587; she died on the 20th of November, 1561. The inscription erroneously describes her as a daughter of Henry, Lord Cheney. Upon her father's monument in the church of Minster, in Shepey, there is a shield, commemorative of this lady's marriage, bearing the arms of Crispe impaling those of Cheney.

In Birchington Church there is nothing else worthy of particular mention. The registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths, are of considerable interest as they commence with the year 1538.† During the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

* Dr. Sparrow Simpson in *Notes and Queries*, vol. xi., 340.

† The oldest parchment register now in existence is a copy made in the reign of Elizabeth from several original paper books. We read thus :—*Liber primus Capelle de Birchingetoune in Insula Thanet infra Com' Kanc' factus pro Ephameride eiusdem parochie incipiens a festo Sci' Michelis Archangeli An'o D'ni* 1538, *etc. etc.* At the end of the Burials for 1552 we read :—*Hic est finis primi libri Ephamerides de Birchcington. Secundus inde liber per unam fatuam mulierem erat destructus* 1564. *Hic incipit tertius liber.*

the names of the sponsors at baptisms are entered from 1564 to 1588, they were again entered for a time during 1598 and 1605. The entries vary in form, thus:—

1564, 27° Februarii baptizatus erat Ricus filius Will'mi Crippes cuius susceptores Ric Hartwes, Robt Graunt:—

1565. 14 Maii ..... susceptores Henricus Crispe gener. et Dorothea Crispe gener.

3 Octobris ..... susceptores Hen: Abram; Domina Anna Crispe, etc.

1569. 26 Martii ..... compatres uxor Rici: Crispe, arm. et Jeanna Crispe.

1575. 17 Nov. baptizatus fuit Henricus filius Philipi ..... gener. cuius susceptores Johes Crispe gener. de Dover Raginoldus Knatchebull gener. et Domina Anna Crispe.

27 Sept. baptizatus erat Henricus filius Johis Crispe armig. cuius susceptores Willmus Crispe, Locumtenens Castri Dovorie, Joh'es Rooper gener. et Domina Anna Crispe.

1582. Februar. bapt. Rowland filius Hen: Crispe jun: gener. susceptores Ric. Crispe arm., Philip Broune senior gener. et Mag: Paramore sen.

1584. 26 Martii: baptizata fuit Lucretia filia Thome fferies cuius susceptores Camillo Zane, Veneciann'; uxor Rici Crispe, arm., et uxor eius fratris Henrici Crispe.

1585. 25 Decr baptizatus fuit Thomas filius Rici: Powell cuius susceptores ..... Elizabeth filia Rici Crispe arm.

1614. Anna filia Henrici Crispe gener. renata 15 Januar. 1614.

1618. Henry filius Henrici Crispe arm. baptizatus fuit, non .....

1639-40. Jany 15. Æolus ffilius Thomæ Baldwinne mercatoris et Graciæ uxoris eius (e parochia ecclesiæ Christi in Insula Barbadose in America) baptizatus Jan. 15, 1639 (natus vero Dec. 27 in nocte tempore tempestatis quæ maxima in the Downes).

1650. Anna filia Dni Nicolai Crispe militis et dominæ Thomasinæ Crispe baptizata 28 die Octob.

1652. Elizabeth the daughter of Sir Nicholas and Lady Thomasin Crispe baptized June 22nd.

1666-7. Anna daughter of Henry & Barberry Crisp baptized January 11th.

1668. Thomas son of Edwin & Frances Wyatt baptized June 25th

Among the Marriages are those of—

1545. Henricus Crispe armiger et Anna Haselherst 23° Julii

1550. Johes Blowfelde et Avicia Norwood nupti erant 5° Octobris

1551-2. Ricus Lea et Elizabetha fiilia Johis Crispe ar. nupti erant 19° Februarii.

1569. Philippus Browne et Anna Crispe nupti erant 23 Octobris.

1570. [should be 1576]. Henricus Browne ar. et D'na Anna Crispe vid. nupti erant 23° Decembris.

[This entry is repeated under the year 1576. As Lady Anna Crispe did not lose her first husband until 1575, it is evident that this entry in 1570 is a copyist's mistake].

1573-4. Johes Crispe ar. et Maria Harlackenden gen. nupti erant 7 Februarii.

1574-5. Johes Crispe ar. et Elizabetha Rooper gen. nupti erant 23 Januarii.
[Probably there may be a copyist's error here also, as it is scarcely likely that John Crispe married twice within less than 12 months; his Harlackenden wife is said to have died in 1576].
1577. Edmondus Rooper gen. et Katherina Crispe nupti erant 10 Decembris.
1584. Edwardus Crispe gen. et Francisca Finche gen. nupti fuerunt 28 Junii.
1595. Willelmus Sprackling et Elizabeth Jackesonn nupti 6° Octobris.
1642. Simon Norwoode sibi duxit uxorem Jana Brookes Junii 23.
1644. John Norwood married Jane Friend July 24.
1652. John Hurst married Margaret Norwood of St Peters April 6th.
1677. July 12°. Christopherus Clapham de agro Lincoln arm. sibi duxit uxorem Elizabetham filiam Tho: Cryspe de Queax armig.
Nov. 29. Christopherus Clapham arm. sepultus fuit.
1678. May 7. Christopherus filius Christopheri Clapham armig. & Elizabethe uxor' bapt: fuit.

Quex.

The estate and house called Quex was so named, because it had been the property of a family named Queke. The pronounciation of the name is shewn by the method of spelling it. In the Parish Registers we find it written Queax in 1747, in 1740, and in 1677; while in the parish account books for 1686 it was spelt Queakes. This fact may be of service to us when seeking to discover the origin of the family named Queke. It shews that the sound of the name in no way approximated to that of Quick; but that the second "e" maintained its full force. During the thirteenth century Robert le Queke was a payer of Romescot in St. Peter's parish.* In 1415-6 John Quyek was, comparatively, a large taxpayer in Ringslo Hundred. Upon a subsidy roll for a fifteenth and tenth collected in 3 and 4 Hen. V, he appears entered as paying 6s. 8d., Joan Quyek is charged 6d., Thomas Queyk 4d., and Christiana Queyk 4d.†

The John Quyek who paid 6s. 8d. was, most probably, that owner of the Birchington estate who was buried within the north chancel of Birchington church in 1449, as his monumental brass still testifies. Richard Quek whose will is

* *Cotton. MSS.*, Faustina A. I., fol. 21^b.
† In Public Record Office, *Queen's Remembrancer's Miscellaneous Books*, No. 7, folios 57^a to 58^a.

said to have been proved in 1458, although he is said to have died in 1456, may have been the son of John. Richard is supposed to have had a son John who was the last of his name, as his only daughter and heir Agnes Queke married John Crispe about 1485. The true armorial bearings of the Crispe family were, *or*, on a chevron *sable*, five horseshoes *argent*. The Crispes of Quex, however, seem to have borne another coat in priority to that. Latterly they bore four quarterings; the first was *ermine* a fess chequy; the second Crispe; the third Denne, *argent* on two flanches *sable*, two leopards' heads *argent*; and the fourth Haslehurst, on a fesse dancetté three leopards' faces, on a chief 3 trees *vert*. We may well assume that the chequy fess, on an ermine shield, which occupied the place of honour in their coat, was that of the family of Queke whose heiress brought the Birchington estate into their possession. This becomes still more probable when we know that Quek was another name for the game of chequers, which was played with pebbles or marbles upon a board that was divided into black and white alternate squares.

In the Visitation of 1619, the heralds say that John Crispe, who married Agnes Queke, was a scion of an Oxfordshire family which was seated at Stanlake. They trace him to be a son of Henry Crispe by his wife Jane Dyer of Rotherfield. This Henry was a son of John, who was a son of Henry, the son of William Crispe, of Stanlake.* The first John Crispe of Quex is supposed to have died in A.D. 1500, but the appearance of that date upon the brass which commemorates him and his first wife, seems to suggest that the exact year has never been filled in; a blank had been left, wherein to engrave the units and tens that should have been added to shew the date of his decease. His wife Agnes is, on the brass, said to have died 6th of June, 1533;† yet in Hasted's copy of the Visitation, made in 1619, she is said to have died before her husband, and to have been buried in St. Augustine's monastery, Canterbury.‡

Their issue seems to have been a son and three daughters.

* *Harl. MSS.*, No. 1548, fol. 25. † Lewis, *Hist. of Tenet*, Appendix, p. 21.
‡ *Additional MSS.*, 5507, fol. 197—85.

The son, called John Crispe junior, of Cleve, was three times married. His first wife Margaret daughter of George Rotherham died on the 18th of May, 1508.* His second spouse was Avice Denne, daughter and heiress of Thomas Denne of Kingstone, by his wife Agnes Asherst† or Exhurst.‡

Avice died on the 18th of February, 1518.§ He seems about 1526 to have married his third wife, named like his first spouse, Margaret. She died on the 12th of May, 1533.§

She seems to have had a beneficial interest in the manors of Eton and Colnorton, Bucks, and perhaps they were her dowry. On the second of January, 1526, permission was granted to her and to her husband, that they might alienate those two manors to feoffees.‖ His name was submitted to the king, for the office of Sheriff, in Nov., 1513, and in Nov., 1515, but not until Nov. 7, 1518 was he selected for the shrievalty. His name occurs amongst those who were in the Commission of the Peace for Kent in 1517, 1524, 1526, and 1528.¶ In 1525, Jan. 5, Christopher Morys of Sandwich wrote to Cardinal Wolsey, saying that he and John Crispe made search in Thanet for the cargo of a Portuguese ship, which ran aground. They found mace, cloves, and oil, and they alleged that 500 poor persons had gathered the pepper. A fleet of Frenchmen (said they) carried off whatever floated out to sea.

We observe that this John Crispe is described as Crispe of Cleave, which is in Monkton. His eldest son, John, is likewise described as being of Cleave, while Quex in Birchington seems to have been the residence of his second son, Henry, who made it a place of greater importance than it had ever been before. Perhaps Cleve or Clive Court was, originally, the chief possession brought by Agnes Queke to her husband John Crispe. At it the elder branch of her descendants remained seated for three or four generations. During the panic caused by the Spanish Armada, Richard Crispe of

* Lewis, *Hist. of Tenet*, Appendix, p. 2. † *Harl. MSS.* 1548.
‡ *Additional MSS.*, 5507. § Lewis, *Hist of Tenet*, Appendix, 22.
‖ *Patent Roll*, 17 Hen. VIII, part i., m. 25.
¶ *Rot. Pat.*, 9 H. VIII., part 1d, memb. 1d. Brewer's *Letters*, etc., temp. H. VIII, vol. iv., part i., pp. 195. 901 ; part ii., p. 2215.

Cleave was captain of the Light Horse of Kent, in 1588. He was the head of the family, and made his will in 1598. His only son was Sir Edmund Crispe, but he had three daughters; Elizabeth (married to Thos. Paramore, who died in 1601); Anne, and Margaret, who married William Proude.

Returning to John Crispe, junior of Cleave, whose mother was Agnes Queke, we find that the Visitation of 1619 declares all his children to have been the issue of his second wife, Avice Denne. In addition to their eldest son John of Cleave, they had two others, Henry and William. The latter became Lieutenant of Dover Castle, where he died in 1576, and was buried in the Castle Church. In the year before he died he lost his elder brother Sir Henry in August, and in the following month he acted as sponsor to that brother's grandson, who afterwards became the second Sir Henry Crispe. The Lieutenant of Dover Castle married first, Mary daughter of Avery Randall or Randolfe, postmaster* at Badlesmere, and by her had seven children, three sons, John, Edward and Avery, and four daughters, Amy, Frances, Sibella, and Anne. By his second wife Anne, daughter of John Brent, he had no issue.† His eldest son John Crispe of Ore in Sussex, married first, Catherine, daughter of William Knatchbull of Mersham, and secondly, Mary daughter and heir of Edward Gage of Bentley. She was the mother of his children, and she brought to him in dowry the manor of Wootton, Kent, which her father bought in 1589. Her husband sold it in 1606. Their son William Crispe was of Ore in Sussex, and their daughters were Mary, wife of Henry Wells of Purbeck, and Elizabeth, wife of John Harrington.

The Crispe who made his family renowned in Thanet, and who built a fine house at Quex, was Henry, the second son of the heiress Avice Denne, and a grandson of the heiress Agnes Queke. Before 1537 he married Katherine, a daughter of Sir John Scott, of Scot's Hall, Smeeth, but she died in 1545, and was buried on the 9th of February. She

* *Additional MSS.*, 5507, p. 198. † *Ibidem*, 5507, p. 197.

left one son Nicholas. Henry Crispe was a man of energy, who did not indulge in a long period of mourning, for on the 23rd of July in the same year, 1545, he married, as his second wife, Anne Haselhurst, daughter of John or George Haselhurst. During the year which followed his second marriage, he served the office of Sheriff; it was the last year of the reign of Henry VIII, 1546-7.

By what means he obtained wealth, whether by trade, or with his first wife Katherine Scott, we know not; but undoubtedly he was the rich man of the family, although but a second son. On the 5th of July, 1540-1 (32 Hen. VIII), he, and Robert St. Leger of Faversham, united in purchasing 24 thousand 6 hundredweight 1 quarter and 21lbs. of bell metal, parcel of the five bells which had lately hung in the belfry of Canterbury Cathedral.* What they did with it we have no means of discovering.

Philipot calls Henry Crispe "eques auratus; vir magni nominis sub Rege Hen. VIII," but he was not knighted by Henry, nor do we hear much of him in that reign.

In 1542, when a Loan to Henry VIII was subscribed by the gentlemen of England, Henry Crispe contributed £26 13s. 4d.† which was a large sum in those days. His elder brother John Crispe of Cleave does not seem to have contributed anything.

During the Reign of Edward VI, Henry Crispe was appointed to be one of the Church Goods Commissioners, who collected inventories of all church ornaments and furniture within the various Hundreds of Kent, which were sworn before them by the churchwardens.

At the close of Queen Mary's reign (April 4th-8th, 1558) Sir Henry Jernegan committed the care of the Kentish coasts to Sir Henry Crispe, Mr. Kempe, and Mr. Fynche.‡

Soon after the accession of Elizabeth, Sir Henry wrote to Thomas Wotton "touching the tranquillity of the Realm;" and so valuable were his suggestions that from Paul's Cray, Wotton, on the 5th of March, 1559, forwarded Sir Henry's

* Battely's Somner's *Canterbury*, part ii., p. 24.
† *Archæologia Cantiana*, XI., 401.
‡ *Domestic State Papers*, Mary, vol. xii., No. 64.

letter to Cecil, the Secretary of State, as "of importance."* On the 25th of the following June, we find the Marquis of Winchester writing to Cecil, that he will see £60 paid to Thomas Cockerell, and the remainder to Sir Henry Crispe.† Probably these sums were expended upon the defence of the coast, but there is no mention made of the object to which they were applied.

He is said to have been all powerful in the Isle of Thanet; "Regulus Insulæ" was an epithet applied to him. No doubt his position was one of importance, although at this distance of time we cannot well see how it was obtained. He was one of the Kentish "notables" whom Queen Elizabeth requested to meet at Dover the Margravine of Baden, Princess Cecilia, daughter of the King of Sweden, when she arrived in England early in September, 1565.‡

The Queen's castles and forts within the Cinque Ports were surveyed in 1568, and Sir Henry Crispe was one of those who made a return of the "decays" therein.§ After certifying, with other justices, in August, 1571, that search and watch for vagrants are duly made in the Lathe of St. Augustine,‖ he went upon a strange expedition to Sandwich and Dover in the following October. They inspected with care all the freebooters in prison at those two places, and selected the best of them, probably to be enrolled, like the vagrants, in her Majesty's naval or military service. The remainder, or utterly worthless prisoners, were to be sent out of the realm.¶

Sir Henry Crispe was buried, in Birchington Church, on the 24th of August, 1575, and his altar tomb still remains in the north chancel. It may have been put up by himself, soon after the death of his first wife, as it bears no allusion to his second marriage.

* *Domestic State Papers*, Elizabeth, vol. iii. No. 12. † *Ibidem*, vol. iv., No. 61.

‡ *Ibidem*, Elizabeth, vol. xxxvii., No. 28. In addition to Sir Henry Crispe, Sir Christopher Allen, Thomas Walsingham, Lady Hart, Lady Finch, Lady Norton, Lord Cobham, Sir Thomas Kemp, Thomas Wotton, Warham St. Leger, Richard Baker, Thomas Scott, and Nicholas St. Leger were to attend the "Lady Cecilia" at Dover.

§ *Ibidem*, Elizabeth, vol. xlvi. No. 77. ‖ *Ibidem*, vol. lxxx. No. 43.

¶ *Ibidem*, vol. lxxx., No. 61.

Nash Court Cave.

In the garden behind Nash Court, there is a subterranean chamber, or series of chambers, excavated in the chalk. In the year 1782, as an inscribed stone in an adjacent wall informs us, the entrance to it was arched over, and covered with earth. The excavation, therefore, is not of modern date. When we descend into it we find that its plan has, originally, been that of a cross with equal limbs, the central portion being about seven feet square, and each of the four limbs being of the same dimensions. Access may have been obtained originally by means of a circular stair at the end of that limb which stands on the right hand of those who are entering. The existing entrance, however, is by means of a flight of steps which occupy the whole of one limb of the cross. The limbs are all vaulted in chalk, and at the springing of the vaulting they have plain string-courses, of Norman character. There are arched niches in the walls. This excavation may have been made as early as the fifteenth century, or it may be as late as the seventeenth. The only point which is certain is the fact that it has been closed for nearly one hundred years. Some suggest that it was intended for a secret oratory; others contend that it was simply a hidden cellar, probably used for smuggling. Among the other subterranean chambers excavated in the chalk, in Thanet, none are like this, symmetrical, cruciform, and constructed with good architectural features.

SUBSIDY ROLL FOR THE HUNDRED OF FAVERSHAM, A° 14 HENRY VIII.

(*Public Record Office—Lay Subsidies, Kent, No.* $\frac{184}{189}$).

TRANSCRIBED BY JAMES GREENSTREET.

(Membrane 1.)

KANCIA.

THIS INDENTURE made the vjth day of Aprile in the xvth yer' of the reign' of our souereign' Lorde Kyng' Henry the viijth witnesseth that Sir John' Norton' knyght' Robert Sandes Esquyer and Robert Maycote, thre of the Comyssioners in the seid Countie of Kent by au[th]orytie of the Kynges Lettres Patentes, to other and to them directed', deputed' and assigned' to do (and) put in execucion all' that to the same Comyssioners apperteigneth for and by the Act of [th]e Subsidie to our seid' souereign' Lorde in his last parliament of the lay people graunted', and for the fyrst payment of the seid Subsidie this present xvth yer' at the receipt of the Kynges Eschequer to be made, haue, in the lymytes to the seid' thre Comyssioners assigned', that is to sey, in the Hundredes of ffauersham' Boughton' & Teneham' in the seid' Countie, caused' all' the Inhabitauntes of the same thre Hundredes of ffauersham' Boughton' and Teneham' to be assessed' accordyng' to the effect and' tenure of the seid' Act in maner and fourme as after in this present Indenture perticularly is expressed'. And the seid' Comyssioners haue named' & deputed' Thomas ffoster of Bakchilde to be High' Collectour of the seid' first payment of the seid' Subsidie in the seid thre hundredes assessid' and' in the seid' present xvth yer' at the seid' receipt to be made:

IN WITNESSE of all' the which premysses, aswell' to the one partie of this Indenture conteynyng' in hit the per-

ticular names surnames and sommes as is aboueseid' to be certified' to the Tresaurer & Barons of the Kynges Eschequer, as to the other part of the same Indenture conteynyng' in hit the said hole and entier somme to be certified' to the Tresaurer of the Kynges Chamber the seid Sir John' Norton' Robert Sandes and Robert Maycote, Comyssioners, haue sett to their seales the seid vjth day of Aprile in the seid xvth yer' of the reign' of our seid souereign' Lorde Kyng' Henry the viijth

The three seals are gone.

(Membrane 2.)

THE HUNDRED' OF FFAUERSHAM.

		SUBSIDY
Petre Grenestre in goodes	*xl. li.*	xl. s.
Nicholas Ofton', laborer, for wagis	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
John' Barne, laborer		iiij. d.
Thomas Peper, laborer		iiij. d.
Thomas Laurent, laborer		iiij. d.
John' Nooke in landes	*vj. li.*	vj. s.
John' Bryce in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
Rychard' A Mory, laborer, in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
James Abraham' in landes	*iij. li. vj. s. viij. d.*	iij. s. iiij. d.

William Highwode in goodes	*xvij. li.*	viij. s. vj. d.
Thomas Wellis		iiij. d.
John' Champion'		iiij. d.

Stephyn' Hayward' in goodes	*cxx. li.*	vj. li.
Edward' Abree in landes	*xx. s.*	xij. d.
Stephyn' Napulton'		iiij. d.
William Hayward' in goodes	*x. li.*	v. s.
Rychard' Laurent in goodes	*xij. li.*	vj. s.
Petre Souger in goodes	*xx. li.*	xx. s.
William Sampson'		iiij. d.
Thomas Napulton' in goodes	*xx. li.*	xx. s.
Richard Hayward' in goodes	*x. li.*	v. s.
Petre Pacche in goodes	*ix. li.*	iiij. s. vj. d.
Laurence Hayward' in goodes	*xiiij. li.*	vij. s.
William Clynton' in goodes	*x. li.*	v. s.
Margaret Brayles, widowe, in goodes	*x. li.*	v. s.
Cristian Gregory, widowe, in goodes	*v. li.*	ij. s. vj. d.
William Gregory in goodes	*iiij. li.*	ij. s.
Thomas Souger in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
William Kyng' in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
Richard' Brodfeld		iiij. d.
Thomas Priour		iiij. d.
Thomas ffygge		iiij. d.
Elizabeth Gregory in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
John' Neve		iiij. d.

Bartilmew Elwyn' in goodes	*xxx. li.*	xxx. s.
Johan' Newland,' widowe, in goodes	*viij. li.*	iiij. s.
John' Salter in wages	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
William Marler		iiij. d.
Egeny ffrende in goodes	*xiiij. li. vj. s. viij. d.*	vj. s. viij. d.
Robert Waren' in goodes	*iiij. li.*	ij. s.
William Stean' (?)		iiij. d.
Henry Tebbe in goodes	*xij. li.*	vj. s.
Cristofer Wylson' in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
Hugh' Capynter in wagis	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
William ffraunces in goodes	*viij. li.*	iiij. s.
Robert A Dane in landes	*viij. s.*	v. d.
John' Staunsham' in goodes	*viij. li.*	iiij. s.
Richard' Best in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
Thomas Vnkyll' in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
Thomas Lucas		iiij. d.
Roger Coole in goodes	*vj. li.*	iij. s.
ffyllipp' Holman' in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
John' Holman'		iiij. d.
Petre Geffrey in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
Thomas Relff in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
Clement Deryk', Ducheman',		viij. d.
William Webbe in goodes	*xl. s.*	xij. d.
John' Amys in goodes	*iij. li.*	xviij. d.
Richard' Edynden'		iiij. d.

Thomas Tayllour iiij. d.
Richard' Michell' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Robert Hilles iiij. d.
John' At Leese in goodes *x. li.* v. s.
Reynold' Wyse in goodes *xx. li.* xx. s.
John' Hewys in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Richard Dray in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Hilles in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Goodwyn' in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Nicholas Clerk' in goodes ... ...
Rychard' Geffrey (?) in goodes ... ...
Alice B . rde (?), widowe, in landes ... ...
Thomas . . . . . in wagis ... ...
John' Hogyn' in goodes ... ...
Thomas Tebbe in goodes ... ...
Thomas . . . .
John' Bartilmew ... ...
John' . . . . . man' (?) in wa[ges]

(Membrane 2[b].)

SUBSIDY

Henry Crafte in goodes *x. li.* v. s.
Raf fforward' in goodes *viij. li.* iiij. s.

Elys Parker in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
Robert Parker in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
Richard' Parker in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
John' Brownyng' iiij. d.
William Golson' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
William Rey iiij. d.
Thomas Hendyman' iiij. d.
Ambrose Golson' iiij. d.
John' Drowry in goodys *xl[vj.] s. viij. d.* xiiij. d.
John' Andrewe in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Elizabeth' Morys, wydowe, in landes *xx. s.* xij. d.
Luke Pancake, fflemyng', viij. d.
James Webbe iiij. d.
Roger Catlott iiij. d.
John' Crosfeld' iiij. d.

John' Gyles in goodes *xx. li.* xx. s.
Thomas Hamshere in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Margarete Crafte, widow, in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Robert Smyth' in landes *v. li.* v. s.
John' Noryngton' in landes *xx. s.* xij. d.
Richard' Lull' in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
William Roger iiij. d.
Petre A Dane in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Elmast in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
William Edward' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.

Auery Randolf, Gent', in goodes *xx. li.* xx. s.
John' Englyssh' iiij. d.
Robert Marche in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Alyce Randolf, widowe, in landes *xviij. li.* xviij. s.
Raynold' Snoth in goodes *xviij. li.* ix. s.
Robert Godard' iiij. d.
Chadd' Cosen' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Petre Hill' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Saunder in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
William Cosen' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Reynold' Hill' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.

Richard' ffaier in goodes *xl. li.* xl. s.
John' Godson' iiij. d.
John' Bedlowe iiij. d.
Thomas Cowper in goodes *vij. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
Thomas ffrend' in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
John' Sendall' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Wed' iiij. d.
Thomas Welsshe in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Erley in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Stephyn' Skott in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Bolynger in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.

Thomas Bromston', Gent', in landes *xlv. li. viij. s. iiij. d.* xlv. s. v. d.
John' Bewtie in goodes *xl. li.* xl. s.
Henry Andrewe iiij. d.
Richard' A Mounte iiij. d.
Richard' Byston' iiij. d.
John' Beawld' iiij. d.
John' Irysshe in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Irysshe in wagis' *xl. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Chamber iiij. d.
Peryman' * iiij. d.
John' Gateman' in goodes *xiiij. li.* vij. s.
William Gosmore iiij. d.
John' Border iiij. d.
Robert Easton' in goodes *xxx. li.* xxx. s.
Hugh , laborer, iiij. d.

* In several entries, as here, particulars have not been filled in.

Bartilmewe ffrend' in goodes *xv. li.* vij. s. vj. d.
George Cowper iiij. d.

(Membrane 3.)

SUBSYDY.

Thomas Pese *xw. li.* xx. s.
Thomas Boycott iiij. d.
William Stonehouse in goodes *xx^ti markes* vj. s. viij. d.
Philipp' Edynden' in goodes *xiij. li. vj. s. viij. d.* vj. s. viij. d.
Richard' Robyn' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Aytherst in goodes *ix. li.* iiij. s. vj. d.
Robert Goreham in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
Richard' Crotynden' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Kateryn' Randolf in landes *x. s.* vj. d.
Robert Hunt in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Payne in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Richard' Goreham in goodes *ij. li.* xviij. d.

Robert Rey in goodes *xx. li.* xx. s.
John' Wodde iiij. d.
Laurence Craft in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Richard' A Down' in goodes *xij. li.* vj. s.
Laurence Hewett in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' White in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
William Bodyll' in goodes *ix. li.* iiij. s. vj. d.
Thomas Wetherley iiij. d.
Alyce At Wodde, widowe, in goodes *xvj. li.* viij. s.
John' Pynchen' iiij. d.
John' Wodde iiij. d.
George Standen' iiij. d.
Pernell' Tretton,' widow, in landes *xx. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Trett[on' in] goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
John' Kyngis . . . . [in] goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Taylo[ur] . . . . *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
Laurence At Lese in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
Stephyn' Taylour in . . . . *xl. s.* xij. d.
Robert Cowland . . . . *viij. li.* iij. s.
Thomas Weldyssh' . . . . *vj. li.* iij. s.
Petre , a fflem[yng'], viij. d.
Henry Dyue in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Adam Sowgate in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Dornyvall' in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
Henry Adryan,' a Docheman,' in goodes *iiij. li.* iiij. s.
Thomas Nicholas in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Cicile Tretton,' widowe, in landes *x. s.* vj. d.
Stephyn' ffowle in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Roger Carter in goodes *xv. li.* vij. s. vj. d.
Richard' Carter iiij. d.
Richard' Dreyton' in lands *v. li.* v. s.
Thomas Symson' iiij. d.
William Cat in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Thomas At Hale in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
Mathewe At Hale iiij. d.
Thomas Overy in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
William Ca . dyll' iiij. d.
Thomas Wyse in goodes *xv. li.* vij. s. vj. d.
Richard' Harris iiij. d.
Richard' Appysley iiij. d.
John' Mountford' in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
William Payne iiij. d.
Stephyn' Vpton' in goodes *xxv. li.* xxv. s.
Robert Nicholas iiij. d.
Henry Lyvery iiij. d.
Jamys Eston' in goodes *xx. li.* xx. s.
John' Marshall' iiij. d.
W ..... Cheke (?) iiij. d.
..... in goodys *xl.[s.]* xij. d.
..... iiij. d.
..... rd' At Wodde iiij. d.
Edward Graunt iiij. d.
Petre Cadman' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Mountford' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' A Down' iiij. d.
Stephyn' Brayles iiij. d.
Hugh Swanner' iiij. d.
Richard' Brokhole in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Abram' iiij. d.
Humfrey Lee iiij. d.
John' Morgan' iiij. d.

(Membrane 3^b.)

SUBSYDY.

John' Byston iiij. d.
John' ffoster iiij. d.
John' Clement iiij. d.
John' Middelton' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Grenham' iiij. d.
Cristofer ffairwether in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
William Bigg' iiij. d.
John' Mosse in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
William Danyell' iiij. d.
Thomas Knolden' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.

..... Tayllour in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
..... mere iiij. d.
.. .. a Scott viij. d.
Joh[n'] P[a]rtriche in goodes *iiij. [li.]* ij. s.
John' Geffrey iiij. d.

Richard' Dryland' the younger. Gent', in goodes *lx. li.* iij. li.
Thomas Aleyn' alias Smyth iiij. d.
John' Isyng' iiij. d.
John' Evyns iiij. d.
Laurence Rolff in goodes *c.s.* ij. s. vj. d.
William A Broke in goodes *xl. li.* xl. s.
Thomas ffurnes iiij. d.
Thomas ffarr in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Robert Exbregge in goodes *xl. li.* xl. s.
John' Tomaw' iiij. d.
Gylham' Beske, a Bryave' viij. d.
Richard' Aleyn' in goodes *vj. li.* iij. s.
Laurence Mazby in goodes *vij. li.* iij. s. vj. d.
Laurence Mazers in goodes *vij. li.* iij. s.
Elizabeth Saunder, a Scott viij. d.
John' Dyman' iiij. d.
John' of Akers iiij. d.
John' Dowkyn' iiij. d.
Jamys Howie in wages *vj. li. vj. s. viij. d.* xx. d.
Henry Hale in goodes *vj. li.* xviij. d.
John' Goodbrow in landes *xxvj. s. viij. d.* xvj. d.
Nicholas Wasen' iiij. d.
John' Cumbe iiij. d.
Richard' Carter in landes *xxvj. s. viij. d.* xvj. d.
Robert Maycok in [illegible] *xl. s.* xx. d.
William Cothy iiij. d.

William [illegible] *xxvj. li.* iiij. s.
Robert Kirk, a ffleme[illegible] in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
John' Aleyn in [illegible] *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Frost in g[illegible] *xl. s.* xij. d.
William Baddok in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Laurent iiij. d.
Robert Ammer in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Jonner iiij. d.
John' Ammer in goodes *viij. li.* ij. s.
Richard' Jonsey in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Jonsey in goodes *xj. li. vj. s. viij. d.* xx. d.
Thomas Bretagne iiij. d.
John' Wade iiij. d.

William Bromfeld' in goodes *xl. li.* xl. s.
William Hart in goodes *xx. li.* xx. s.
John' Weldysh' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' A Pett iiij. d.
John' Anadown' iiij. d.
John' Rooper in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John White iiij. d.

John' Kybett in goodes *xxv. li.* xxv. s.
Thomas Johnson' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
George Bage in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
John' Priour in goodes *xvj. li.* viij. s.
Richard' Cowland' in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
Water Lytterford' in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Symon' ffyrr in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Stephyn' Kybbett in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Carpynter in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.

(Membrane 4.)

SUBSIDY.

William Brewster in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
William Wattes in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Cornell' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Butt in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Richard' Brownyng' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Richard' Pye in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Laurence Jenkynk iiij. d.
Peter Napulton iiij. d.
John' Mercant' iiij. d.
William Wilson in wages *xl. s.* xij. d.
Robert Archer iiij. d.

John' Vallyng in goodes *xl. li.* xl. s.
Richard' Barnett iiij. d.
Richard' Smith iiij. d.
Thomas Ipswichman in wages *xl. s.* xij. d.
John A Brooke in goodes *x. li.* v. s.
Richard' Bull in landes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Robert Deryng iiij. d.
Thomas At Stowe iiij. d.
Robert At Stowe in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John At Stowe iiij. d.
John Ewer iiij. d.

William Jeake in landes *xj. li.* [illegible]
Wignell' Jeake iiij. d.
John' Smith in goodes *x. li.* [illegible]

Richard' Tayllour in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
Laurence Hill' in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
Stephyn' Elys in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
William Lagett iiij. d.
Cristofer Lagett iiij. d.
John' Wilhound' in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
John' Hardy in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' At Thorne in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' At Snoth' in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
Leonard' Cosen' iiij. d.
George Olyuer in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
William Tritton' in landes *liij. s. iiij. d.* ij. s. viij. d.
Thomas Mason' iiij. d.
Robert Mason' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Baylly in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
Reynold' Brekesper iiij. d.
Thomas Baylly in goodes *iij. li. vj. s. viij. d.* xx. d.
Stephyn' At Pett in landes *xl. s.* ij. s.
Walter Maycote in goodes *xx. li.* xx. s.
John Mason in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Custaunce Taillour, widowe, in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
Petre Taillour iiij. d.
Stephyn' Craft in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Nicholas Tanner in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Rooke in goodes *xiiij. li.* vij. s.
Robert Rooke iiij. d.
John' Markes iiij. d.
Thomas Raynold' in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
Thomas At Thorne in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Thomas Harris in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Reynold' Harward' in goodes *vij. li.* iij. s. vj. d.
Thomas Tenaker in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Raynold' Bak' in goodes *x. li.* v. s.
John' Turnour in landes *xxx. s.* xviij. d.
Thomas Taillour in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Jamys Turnour iiij. d.
John' Lambe in landes *xx. s.* xij. d.
Mighell Lambe in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Robert At Thorne in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' ffrensshe in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Tayllour in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
William Payne iiij. d.
Roger Britt iiij. d.
Elianore Hawker, widowe, in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.

(Membrane 4ᵇ.)

SUBSYDY.
Rauf Wolgate in goodes *c. li.* v. li.
Nicholas Wolgate in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Eston' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Henry Tylbie in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Richard' Cotyng' iiij. d.
Henry Guylham' iiij. d.
Richard' Pedyll' iiij. d.
Giles Deleby, Doucheman' viij. d.
John' Mathewe iiij. d.
Robert ffurmynger in goodes *viij. li.* iiij. s.
George ffurmynger in goodes *viij. li.* iiij. s.
Johañe ffurmynger, syngil-woman, in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
Richard' Croke in goodes *xx. li.* xx. s.
Roger Eland' iiij. d.
William Golde in goodes *viij. li.* iiij. s.
Richard' Nexton' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
William Catlott iiij. d.
John' Catlott in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
Stephyn' ffurmynger in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.

John' Okynfold' in goodes *viij. li.* iiij. s.
Richard' Okynfold' in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
William Philippes in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Plomer in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Eston' iiij. d.
Thomas Hornesclyf in landes *v. marc.* iij. s. iiij. d.
William Pak' in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
William Hony in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Richard' Style iiij. d.
Thomas Tassell' in landes *xx. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Howtyng' in landes *xx. s.* xij. d.
John' Howtyng' iiij. d.
Robert Bysshopp' iiij. d.
John' Graythorn' iiij. d.
John' Burgen', ffrencheman', viij. d.
James Bourn in goodes *vj. li.* iij. s.
William Bourn' iiij. d.
John' Clynche iiij. d.
John' Goddyn' in goodes *vj. li.* iij. s.
Richard' Johñson' iiij. d.
John' Ruffyn' iiij. d.
John' Henman' iiij. d.
William Edmer in landes *iij. li.* iij. s.

Andrewe Baylly in goodes *liij. s. iiij. d.* xvj. d.
John' Ayherst iiij. d.

Richard' Grymgill' in goodes *vj. li.* iij. s.
Henry Grymgill' in landes *xx. s.* xij. d.
John' Brodestrete in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
John' Hardy the yonger in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Thomas Pope thelder in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Hamond Redborough' in landes *xxx. s.* xviij. d.
John' Clerke iiij. d.
William Barbour in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Richard' Spycer iiij. d.
John' Wodwell' iiij. d.
Alyce Joce, widowe, in landes *xvj. s. viij. d.* x. d.
William Hamond' in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
Robert Norman' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
Nicholas Sterisacre iiij. d.
Richard' Norman' in goodes *l. s.* xv. d.
William Nutt in landes *xiiij. s.* viij. d.
Robert Norman' thelder in goodes *iij. li.* xviij. d.
John' Norman' iiij. d.
Henry Norman' in goodes *vij. li.* iij. s. vj. d.
William Norman' iiij. d.
John' Persby iiij. d.
John' Dodd' in goodes *v. li.* ij. s. vj. d.
Stephyn' Dodd' in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Symon' Dodd' iiij. d.
Stephyn' Cadman' in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
John' Grymgill' iiij. d.

(Membrane 5.)

SUBSYDY.

Elizabeth Sharp', widowe, in landes *iiij. li.* iiij. s.
John' Lull' in goodes *viij. li.* iiij. s.
Thomas Austen' in goodes *iiij. li.* ij. s.
Thomas Tebbe in goodes *vij. li.* iij. s. vj. d.
William Tebbe iiij. d.
Jamys Clynche in landes *xl. s.* ij. s.
William Andrewe in landes *xl. s.* ij. s.
John' Mote in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Hamond' Colard' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
William A Down' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Richard' Hogynson' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Robert Abram' in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d.
John' Lull' in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d.
Richard' At Lese in goodes *vj. li.* iij. s.
Roger Hegge iiij. d.
Richard' Goodwyn' iiij. d.
Roger Shawe in goodes *xl. s.* xij. d
Laurence Traye in wagis *xl. s.* xij. d
Clemence Ady, widowe, in landes *xxvj. s. viij. d.* xvj. d
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(Membrane 5ᵇ.)

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MISCELLANEA.

ON ROMAN REMAINS IN THE CHURCHYARD AT MILTON NEXT SITTINGBOURNE.

BY GEORGE PAYNE, JUN.

Some few years since it was found necessary to extend the grave-yard, surrounding the church, at Milton; the north-western wall was removed, and a portion of the adjoining land, known as "Church Field," was taken in. Grave digging in the new ground at once brought to light numerous fragments of Roman pottery, glass and tiles, about four feet from the surface. Masonry of a very substantial nature was also exposed; and from the description given, by a trustworthy informant, the wall seems to have been of Roman work. The first notice received of the discovery was in March, 1872, from Mr. Parham, National Schoolmaster at Milton, who had procured a quantity of the broken pottery. These fragments consisted chiefly of Upchurch ware, in great variety of shape and pattern. From 1872 to 1878 similar remains have been exhumed, whenever the ground has been opened for burial purposes. The writer has preserved, in his private collection of local antiquities, several pieces of embossed Samian ware. On the central portion of a patera, the maker's name PRIMANI is stamped. Ornamented roof tiles, a minute vase of coarse black pottery, and the neck of a large amphora, of pale flesh colour, have likewise been preserved; the amphora must have been capable of holding many gallons. With such material before us, it is reasonable to infer that the spot where these interesting relics were found was the site of some Roman building. From its proximity to the church we naturally connect the discovery with that, or a former, edifice. The

kton states that foundations, analogous to that previously entioned, intersect a large portion of the old churchyard nd are probably part of the same work. It is evident that church was erected here at a very early period, for Hasted ays, in the year 1070, William the Conqueror gave to the bbot and convent of St. Augustine, the church of Middleton (Milton), and the tenths of all the products accruing from that Manor, and the tenths of all its appurtenances of the land, wood, meadows, and water, excepting the tenths of honey paid in rent and money. Lambarde in his *Perambulation of Kent*, quotes a statement to the effect that Sexburga, the foundress of the Nunnery at Minster in Shepey, left her life at the door of Milton Church. Other accounts state that she died at Ely, where she had latterly resided, on July 6th, 699. In some notes left by the late Rev. W. Vallance, formerly curate of Milton, he says that in digging to the foundations of the north wall of the present church several Roman bricks or tiles were found. It will be seen from the foregoing account, how important is the discovery of masonry in this particular spot; and it was hoped that a slight excavation in the churchyard, to throw additional light on the matter, might have been permitted. The Council of the Kent Archæological Society agreed to vote a sum of money to carry out such a work, but permission to excavate was refused. The Roman cemetery at Bex Hill, which yielded a rich store of leaden coffins, described in *Archæologica Cantiana*, Vol. IX., was situated beside Milton Creek, several hundred yards south of the church.

LEADEN COFFIN AT CRAYFORD.

On the 4th or 5th of February, 1878, a leaden coffin was discovered by excavators employed in opening the Queen's Highway, between Crayford and Bexley, for the purpose of inserting large pipes required for the West Kent Drainage Works. From the accounts given of it there seems very little room for doubting that this was a Roman coffin. A rough

sketch of it made by the Rev. Geo. Savage, shews ornam tation of a beaded pattern, and of escallop shells. The l however was unfortunately buried again, and the soil ram down upon it, before any competent authority had an op tunity of inspecting it. Mr. Roach Smith, and his fri Mr. John Harris, have since been indefatigable in t efforts to get the lead dug up again; Canon Smith, re of Crayford, and Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell have likewise mo in the matter; correspondence has been held with Col Lennard, the chairman, and Mr. Neave, the contractor, the West Kent drainage works; yet all without avail. exact spot of re-interment being somewhat doubtful, great public inconvenience resulting from digging up Queen's Highway, there seems to be at present little h of recovering the leaden fragments.

Mr. Savage states that the coffin was lying nearly n and south, across the road, which runs east and west. exact spot of its discovery was very near the boundary between the parishes of Crayford and Bexley, about 30 y east of the gate which leads to the Iron Church of St. J Bexley. Mr. Savage saw a portion of the jaw-bone of occupant of the coffin. Some teeth in it were perfect, the "wisdom tooth" was in the jaw and had not been "c The remains were those of a young female.

ROMAN COFFIN OF LEAD AT CHATHAM.

The Precinct, Rochester, 24th May, 18

My dear Sir,

I heard yesterday from Mr. George Winch of Chath the Clerk to the Burial Board there, of a recent discover the cemetery of an interment, which Mr. Roach Smith seen, and assigns to the fourth century. I had been a from home three days, or I should have had Mr. W.'s le earlier, and would have let you know. I have seen remains to-day, the body is evidently that of a man,

apparently of middle age; the remains were found in a leaden coffin, bound at the edges with iron, and ornamented on the seams with a beadwork ornament. Among several impressions of an escallop shell, one, where the head rested, is particularly perfect. There were two small glass vessels inside, now in fragments; the lower jaw with the teeth nearly perfect, and a small quantity of hair, are preserved; outside the coffin were two ordinary yellow-ware vessels. The leaden coffin was evidently inside one of wood; the latter must have been of considerable thickness, I should think quite four inches. Several hollow nails were found, which no doubt had secured the whole together. I saw one nail, which was certainly six inches in length, or very nearly so. The greater part of the lead coffin, the bones and the nails, are at the Chatham Cemetery. The upper part of the coffin, with the ornaments I have mentioned, the remains of the glass vessels and the earthenware vessels, are at the Office of the Chatham Local Board in the Military Road, Chatham, where they will be preserved. Mr. Winch mentioned to me that Mr. Payne of Sittingbourne would probably make some notes; he had already seen the remains.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours truly,

A. A. Arnold.

The Rev. W. A. Scott Robertson.

SUBTERRANEAN SHAFT AT ELTHAM PARK.

In February, 1878, at the residence of Thomas Jackson, Esq., Eltham Park, excavators seeking to remedy a leakage in the North Kent Company's Water supply, came upon a disused brick drain, 21 inches wide and 26 inches high, with semicircular arch. A man entering this drain found that it ended at the top of a circular shaft, 140 feet deep, and 49½ inches in diameter, which terminated in a huge chamber, excavated in the chalk. This chamber is of irregular shape,

but its extreme dimensions are 63 feet by 40, and its height 9½ feet. Mr. Flinders Petrie estimates that about 1000 tons of chalk have been excavated from it. The circular shaft is lined with bricks, for a depth of 75 feet, and below that its lining is formed of chalk blocks. Mr. Jackson says that in a well, sunk not far from the shaft, no chalk was found until the excavation had reached a depth of 114 feet. Gravel and ferruginous sand occupy the upper 40 feet; clays, green sand, and a pebble bed, about 22 feet; then come 52 feet of pure white sand, beneath which is the chalk.

ACOUSTIC JARS IN LEEDS CHURCH.

Leeds Vicarage,
Maidstone, August 13th, 1878.

Dear Sir,

There has been some pottery discovered in a wall in Leeds Church, now in course of restoration. The portion of wall, in which the jars are, is to come down; a portion has already been taken down, and the pots (eight in number) have been taken out of it, somewhat damaged in the removal. I can get the other part of the wall, in which are six more jars, allowed to remain for a few days, I think. Can you come over and look at them, and their curious position, before they are further disturbed? They are placed in a row in the wall, above the arches of the nave, equidistant from each other.

Faithfully yours,
A. P. Morris.

Rev. W. A. Scott Robertson.

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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Vol. XI.

p. lxi, line 26, *for* Bishop Beaufort *read* Bishop Beauchamp.
53, line 19, *for* 12 Hen. III *read* 10 Hen. III.
„ „ 34, *for* Bolbroke *read* Holbroke.
54, line 7, *for* 1258-59, *read* 1259-60.
65, line 8, *for* his uncle, *read* his cousin.
65, lines 19, 20, *for* St. Matthew . . . when the Almighty, etc., *read* St. Matthias . . . may the Almighty grant, etc.
67, line 9, *for* brother to John *read* nephew to John.
67, lines 28, 29, *delete* all from "and the dispute" to "been mentioned."
67, line 34, *for* nephew *read* cousin.
71, line 30, *for* virtuti *read* virtute.
77, line 24, a full stop should follow "winning."
77, line 25, *for* of *read* for.
81, line 33, *for* John 1299-1303 *read* John 1299-1300.
86, line 1, *for* his uncle, *read* his cousin.
88, line 10, *for* on the Scheldt *read* on the Lieve.
97, line 18, *for* Earl of Powys *read* Lord of Powys.
99, line 22, *for* twenty-four *read* four, and *for* 1458 *read* 1438.

Vol. XII.

23, line 18, *for* 19 October 1595 *read* 9 October 1593.
127, line 15, *for* 1558 *read* 1540.
128, line 27, *for* Bandy *read* Bendy.
263, note, for *Archæologica* read *Archæologia.*
338, line 32, *for* EBBSFEET, *read* EBBSFLEET.
347, line 13, *for* Minister *read* Minster.
400, line 29, *for* make *read* makes.
400, line 33, *for* 1569-60 *read* 1559-60.
411, line 6, *for* Henry *read* John.
429, line 26, for *Archæologica* read *Archæologia.*

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